Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historicalbackgr0000nels

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

NELSON SHERWIN BUSHNELL

DA
32
B973

NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1930,
BY
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, INC.

PRINTED IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To Tony
for whom this book was written
and without whom it could not have been written

PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to narrate the chief events
the political history of England, and to indicate the most
ovious points of contact between English history and Eng-
sh literature. For the general reader and for the student
have sought to provide a compact, reliable account of one
nportant field in the background of English letters. The
rcumstances of English history are important not only be-
use of their immediate effect upon writers, but also be-
use of the wealth of subject matter which they supply to
ter generations of poets and prose artists. And a knowl-
lge of these circumstances must surely enhance the under-
anding and delight obtainable through the reading of
nglish literature.

It is primarily with the story of the English nation that
have dealt. My book is not a history of English litera-
re, nor of English thought, nor of English society, though
contains many references to literary, intellectual, and so-
al conditions. All of these other fields are rich in influ-
nce upon English writers and books; but had I cultivated
em, I must inevitably have neglected my immediate sub-
ct or else extended my work beyond the limits of ex-
diency.

Every thoughtful reader of this book is bound to dis-
ver omissions. Many interesting and significant facts
ve been crowded out by others of greater interest and
gnificance; where causes are overshadowed by results, the

results alone are stated; and I have ignored indirect conclusions where they seem to have contributed little to the main stream of political events and of literature. In addition, certain historical facts have, because of their bearing upon literature, received an exaggerated emphasis; to others, of no literary significance, scant attention has been paid. No attempt has been made to offer a novel interpretation of history or of letters; if I have succeeded in presenting the facts of England's history so as to emphasize their influence upon England's literature, my purpose has been accomplished.

The four maps included in the text are in no sense complete; each is intended merely to give the approximate location of places mentioned in my account of the period which it covers. Similarly, the "Chronological Table" is not a detailed outline of all English history, political and literary; it is only a chronological summary of the facts presented in this book, with references to the pages on which they are treated. The "Suggestions for Further Reading," for which I am indebted to Dr. James R. Mock, have been made with an eye to the peculiar needs and tastes of the readers for whom this book was intended. It would have been easy to crowd the maps, the chronological summary, and the reading list—as well as the book itself—with many important items of general value; but to have done so would have obscured the central subject of this historical background of English literature.

I am, of course, myself responsible for everything I have said in this book. I am indebted for my material to more authorities than I can mention here; it is a pleasure to indicate those which have been most helpful for information

d reference: G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England;* A. L. oss, *A Shorter History of England and Great Britain;* C. Dietz, *A Political and Social History of England;* Terry, *A History of England;* Legouis and Cazamian, *History of English Literature.*

My friends have been most generous of their time and eir wisdom, and to all of them I am grateful. Dr. James Mock has provided the bibliography and has revised the hole book from the point of view of the historian. My leagues in the English Department of the College of Lib- l Arts, Northwestern University, have made many help- suggestions; Professor Alpheus W. Smith has read and rrected the entire manuscript, and Professors W. F. Bryan d A. H. Nethercot have given me help with several chap- s.

I am glad to have this opportunity of publicly thanking friend Bernard Joseph and my wife for their patient in- est and their help in preparing the manuscript for pub- ation.

N. S. B.

orthwestern University,
ne 1, 1930.

CONTENTS

PTER		PAGE
I	England	3
II	Before the Norman Conquest (Before 1066)	7
II	Feudal England (1066-1272)	25
V	The End of the Middle Ages (1272-1485)	45
V	England Under the Early Tudors (1485-1558)	75
VI	The Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603)	93
II	The Early Stuarts (1603-1649)	119
II	The Republican Experiment (1649-1660)	137
X	The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution (1660-1689)	149
X	The Last Stuarts (1689-1714)	175
XI	The First Two Georges (1714-1760)	199
II	The Reign of George III, Up to the Outbreak of the French Revolution (1760-1789)	223
II	French Revolution and English Reform (1789-1837)	249
V	Mid-Victorian England (1837-1880)	277
V	The British Empire (Since 1880)	295
	Chronological Table	311
	Suggestions for Further Reading in English History	337
	Index	341

MAPS

	PAGE
The British Isles Before the Norman Conquest	2
Medieval England	24
The British Isles During the Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution	74
Modern Great Britain	148

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

MAP I

THE BRITISH ISLES BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND

". . . Ye clouds of Albion,
Begetters of our deep eternal theme!"

KEATS, *Sonnet on Sitting Down to Read King Lear.*

No one can hope to read English literature with understanding and with delight if he knows nothing of the land and the people from which that literature has sprung. English fields and English skies are not the same as those of New York or of Illinois; and the makers of English verse and prose are not mere hack writers installed in a London apartment house; they are men, living or dead, who screamed in the mob that saw its king beheaded, who watched in silence the embarkation of their "contemptible little army" for Flanders; and in their veins flows the blood of distant ancestors who cut the sacred mistletoe with golden sickle, rowed in the galleys of Hengest, or marched with the Roman legions guarding Hadrian's Wall.

Many of the factors that give England its peculiar individual quality, that make England so unlike the land we ourselves may know, are mere geographical accidents. Warm ocean currents, popularly known as the "Gulf Stream," wash the shores of the island and affect its climate in many ways. Consider, for instance, the notoriously heavy rainfall of from twenty-five to eighty inches a year (we have about thirty in New York City or

graphical ditions.

Chicago), and the effect it must have upon the dispositions of the people who experience it. Then balance against the clouds and rain the equable temperatures brought from the Atlantic by the prevailing southwest winds. London summers are cooler than ours; yet the winters are markedly warmer, with an average temperature of 38 degrees Fahrenheit in January contrasting with our 20 degrees in middle-western or middle-Atlantic states. Spring, which to many of us has no real existence outside of books of poetry or a rare June day sandwiched between blizzards and torrid drought, is a lingering, lovable fact impressing itself yearly on the attention of the Englishman.

Again, his homeland is not spread out across one-sixth of the globe; it is a compact little island, considerably smaller than the state of Oregon, small enough so that all men can see the sunrise together. And in this tiny island there is a diversity of soil, of landscape, and of climate wide enough to vary every man's prospect, yet not so wide as to isolate him from his neighbor and his friend. Abundant moisture, rich soil, and equable temperatures make agriculture easy in many districts and foster the growth of native fruits. Yet the rainfall varies widely. And the earth is not everywhere fertile; boggy fens, which once extended over enormous tracts, and mountains, the highest rising to three or four thousand feet, break the surface of the land. So too, the mild climate has its fogs, its storms from the Atlantic, and a summer too cool for the ripening of semi-tropical fruits and vegetables.

All through the early centuries of recorded history there were vast wooded areas in the British Isles, and the remnants of these still linger, so that no English writer need

k in imagination alone "the old oak forest" of which
ats speaks. There were, and still are, bare rolling downs,
, high above the sea; and great pastures of natural grass
ere sheep feed. To all these the gloomy skies bring
rm rains that keep the foliage fresh the year around;
ld flowers bloom through the long spring and on in
nmer; birds find a refuge; and the callow English lover
ites as naturally of the lark and primrose as we of robins
d violets. The deer, the fox, and the rabbit, all of which
pursue through the pages of English literature from
beginning, are native to the island. Not in the inland
ters alone but in the surrounding seas also, fish abound.
oreover, most of the metals and minerals needful to
ilized man, such as gold, tin, iron, clay, coal, are to be
ınd in one part of the island or another. Small wonder
t Celt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman looked with
vetous eyes across the narrow seas to this treasure house.
ıall wonder that Milton filled his earthly Paradise with
glish birds and beasts and flowers and trees; or that
elley made his "isle under Ionian skies" a bit of England.
But England is not Paradise; many clouds trouble its
es. Rugged mountain ranges have interfered with each
cessive invasion of the island and with complete assimila-
n of victor and vanquished thereafter. In hilly Wales
n still speak a Celtic tongue, much as their ancestors did
een hundred years ago, as if the Saxon and Norman
ıquests had never been. Remote isolated valleys, islands,
l peninsulas retain the strong local customs of long ago.
d the rivers, some of them penetrating far inland, which
ve for sport or commerce in these later days, once
ened a way for piratical conquerors into the heart of

the country. Even the many harbors and beaches along the coast, retreats for the fisherman and the sea-bather today, once gave to the Saxon invader a landing place, and a refuge from the furies of the North Sea storms.

English rural life.

Until recent days the typical England has been the England outside of city walls. Celts and Saxons were no townsmen, and the Roman army posts were left to solitude and decay after the legions had marched off. The grainfield, the sheep-pasture, and the forest with its wild game and its acorns for feeding herds of swine, were the sources of English vitality, even though that vitality found expression in London life. Cities, of course, there have been since the beginning; but the most ardent city dweller was likely to have been born near green trees and fresh water, things that man never forgets.

It was only comparatively recently that the England we know today—the great industrial and commercial England—became dominant. The coming of refugee handicraftsmen from the Continent, the development of water power, the use of coal, the steam engine, the machine—all played their parts in changing Chaucer's and Shakespeare's England to the England of George V. But after all, this new England is less important. For the old England is still there; you will see it from the boat-train between Southampton and London; you will see it in Chaucer's account of his Canterbury pilgrimage, and in *The Everlasting Mercy*.

And, side by side with glimpses of that older, enduring land, you will see in the literature of the English people the footprints, faint or clear, of the half-dozen races who have made their homes in England.

CHAPTER II

BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

(Before 1066)

"It came to his mind, a splendid thought,
That he would tell the ancestry of the English,
What they were called and whence they came
Who first possessed the English land."

LAYAMON, *Brut.*

Many centuries before the first surviving scrap of English
erature was composed, before the founding of the Roman
e Empire or the Church of Rome, and long ere the
rians. mightiest Julius fell, England was inhabited by the
erians, the first of the races who dwelt there. But these
ort, dark, cunning natives were not suffered to remain
peace; tall, fair Celtic warriors from the Continent
ossed the Channel and subjugated the half-savage Ibe-
ns, who mingled with their conquerors, or fled into the
ountainous north and west, leaving behind them such
ysterious monuments as Stonehenge to testify to their
mer sway.

The second race, the Celtic, was composed of two
nches. One of these, the Gaels, penetrated into the
e mountains of the north, where their custom of paint-
ts. ing or tattooing their bodies perhaps gave them the
me Picts; or they crossed over to Ireland and established
mselves there. Some of these Irish Gaels later returned
he larger island and, assuming the name of Scots, settled

beside the Picts in the land which we now call Scotland. The Celts of the second branch were known as Britons; they later pretended to have derived their name and blood from Brutus, the grandson of Trojan Æneas, and to have arrived in the new land under his leadership. At any rate, they gave to their southern half of the island the name Britain (which changed to England after the coming of the Angles); and there they settled down to lead their pagan lives, veiled from us in the dim, mysterious distance of antiquity. Their kings, hot-headed warriors like Leir and Cunobeline (Shakespeare's Lear and Cymbeline); their Druid priests, sprinkling with sacrifice of human blood the stony altars; and traces of their manners and customs—these things, literature and archeology have preserved for us. Of themselves we remain mostly ignorant.

The Roman invasion.

These Britons, cultivating their fertile patches of grain, appealed to the roving eye of the Roman across the Channel in Gaul as a likely source of taxes and tribute. Moreover, they had vexed the Romans by aiding rebellious Gauls, and the internal feuds in Britain gave an excuse for foreign intervention; under Julius Cæsar, in 55 B.C., the first invasion began; and the Romans became the third masters of the island.

Before the conquest was complete there was, of course, some stiff fighting to be done—most notably against a resisting Briton queen, Boadicea. But the legions were at length able to settle down peaceably to nurse their new subjects in the Roman arts; and for the first four centuries of the Christian era they maintained a military protectorate over the southern half of the island. This consisted mainly in repressing the painted warriors who seethed in a state

perpetual ferment beyond the great wall built by the mperor Hadrian to guard the northern frontier; and in pelling the scattered attacks of Teutonic pirates, Saxons r the most part from across the North Sea, who drove eir lean-prowed galleys westward for plunder and for ort.

Under protection of the Roman arms, Christian mission-ies began the work of converting the Britons and stamp-g out Druidism. Who the first of these saints was we not know; later legend names Joseph of Arimathea, who st laid Christ's body in the sepulchre and fled to Britain r refuge, bringing with him the Holy Grail, and planting Glastonbury the miraculous staff which took root and ossomed there, the Christmas thorn. The Roman arts, o, spread in the new land; and Roman lords built them-ves great villas, some equipped even with running water d hot air furnaces.

But there were other tasks for the centurions than mere lice duty, missionary work, or plumbing in a northern province; one by one the legions were re-called to fight for their emperors nearer home, til by the year 410 of our era the last was gone, and the nd lay naked to attacks from the north and east. The iginal Britons remained; but they had become so depend-t upon Roman control that without their Roman leaders ey were helpless when the Picts and Scots swarmed down om their mountain lairs. At the same time, fleet after fleet Saxon ships came to land on the exposed coast, some-nes to aid the Britons but more often to plunder them; ne and the enemy had their way with the lost province, nothing of the proud Roman civilization was left but

e Germanic vasions.

the Christian religion, which had come with the Roman eagles and still survived in Celtic fastnesses in the west, and the ruins of villa, road, or bath looming up mysteriously before the eyes of the half-savage Teuton invaders, who, in *The Ruin,* described what they saw:

"Wonderful is the wall-stone, broken by fate. The buildings have collapsed, the work of the giants falls. The roofs are ruined, the towers in decay. . . . The grip of earth, the fierce grasp of the grave, holds the owner and his works, perished and gone, while a hundred generations of men have passed. Red-stained and mossy this wall outlasted kingdom after kingdom, standing under the storms. Now the lofty arch has fallen."

For two centuries this process of decay and conquest continued, until a fourth people had overspread much of the habitable portion of the island—the Teutonic Saxons with their cousins and neighbors from the continent of Europe: Angles, from whom we have the name England, "Angleland"; and Jutes, who, legend says, with their leaders Hengest and Horsa were encouraged by the weak British king Vortigern to settle in his land and repel the Pictish invasions from the north. The Jutes were only too ready to comply and to aid in driving back the painted warriors beyond the wall; also along with the other Germanic invaders they dominated and absorbed the native Britons whom they had come ostensibly to save, or pushed the more independent tribes into Cornwall, Wales, and the far northwest, or even across the Channel into Brittany, where their descendants live today.

This Teutonic or Germanic invasion was, however, a

gradual process, lasting some two centuries; and it was difficult as well as slow. The newcomers were numerous, persistent, and full of a splendid, raw youth; they were also only half-civilized and were not united in one common, organized enterprise; individual groups were satisfied with their immediate victories and spoils.

The British natives did not all submit tamely; resistance was often stubborn and prolonged, and this fact was most gloriously true of one legendary chieftain named Arturus, a "war-leader," who rallied his people in twelve great victories against the Saxons. In one of these Arturus bore on his shoulders the image of the Blessed Virgin, and with divine assistance "put the Saxons to flight, and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter." At the last battle, Mount Badon, fought in the year 520, nine hundred and forty Saxons fell by his hand alone.

King Arthur.

Here is our King Arthur, and the questionable narrative from which we have just quoted, written by Nennius three centuries and more after the event, is the most exact account we have of the man for whom the Round Table was erected, and the brand Excalibur fashioned on the shadowy anvils of the enchanted lake. But even a King Arthur could not check forever the waves of a popular migration; and by the beginning of the Seventh Century the new Germanic race had established itself permanently in England.

The lingering remnants of British and Roman culture made little impression on the magnificent vitality of the newcomers. The Celtic sense of humor and the feeling for the supernatural, constantly replenished by direct influence from Celts

Surviving traces of the Celts and Romans.

in Scotland and Ireland, linger in the Englishman of today with the Celtic blood that still runs in his veins; Celtic legend and Druid lore have never been quite forgotten; a few Celtic and Latin words (for instance, *down,* a hill, and *mint,* a place where money is coined) permanently entered our tongue in these early days of which we write; and Roman roads, like the one mentioned in Hardy's *Return of the Native,* can still be traced across England—but the Germanic heritage is far more prominent, and the Germanic influence is much the stronger upon the new literature of this new Anglo-Saxon England.

The Saxon invaders who overran England in the Sixth Century brought with them the manners and the customs of their Continental home. The essential racial features, gradually altered by time and by contact with other peoples (their subjects or their conquerors), can be traced in English literature since the beginning. Exactly how the Germanic inhabitants of England lived, what their social system was, and how their society changed from generation to generation, we do not know. But from descriptions of the Germans in earlier days before they left the Continent, from the testimony of archeology, and from their own literature, we can form a general impression of the Saxons in England. We can at least guess that some such life as we describe was at one time or another familiar to the authors of our early literature.

The Saxons' way of life.

Our hypothetical Saxon ancestors were tall, brawny men with white skins, piercing blue-gray eyes, and long blond hair of which they were inordinately proud. Originally they had been nomads and hunters, but their taste for a

ettled agricultural life was gradually developing. Not only he desire for sport but also the pressure of migrating races n the Continent had inspired their pirate raids and the ventual conquest of Britain, and when they had established hemselves in their new and fertile country, they gradually ttached themselves to the land "with such dumb loving of he Berkshire loam" as thirteen centuries have not eradi-ated.

Their way of life, though far superior to that of the ative African savage today, was unquestionably rude and rimitive, judged by our own urban standards. The land as dotted with small villages; each of these was inhabited, erhaps, by the descendants of one family or one group of iders. All of the villages in a certain area were loosely nited under an earl or king, who lived and ruled in a anner resembling that of the petty village chief, although n a much grander scale.

In the individual village, society seems to have centered in he great hall of the chieftain, as in Hrothgar's hall, in *eowulf*—constructed of wood, like all the buildings, with fire burning in the center of the floor, benches about for he freemen and followers, at one end a high seat or throne or the lord, and doors opening out practically on a level ith the ground, so that a horse might be ridden even into he hall. Outside, the antlers of a stag hung for ornament the gable end, and the gaily painted walls and roof shone the sun.

Smaller buildings serving as store-rooms, kitchens, and bowers" for the accommodation of women and young hildren, were built conveniently near the hall, as were he houses of the free citizens and the huts of the slaves;

there was likely to be a wall of brush, wood, or clay guarding the whole group of buildings. The road entering at the main gate was perhaps paved for a little way—a survival or imitation from Roman times. If the master was a seafarer, his boats were beached along the sandy shore in the distance.

Outside the home enclosure the meaner citizens tilled the soil or herded swine, a large share of the work being done by the women and serfs, while the lord and his nobler companions hunted, fought, and vied in rough, heroic sports —like the racing of horses, or the swimming of stormy seas. When these pastimes failed, the company adjourned to the great hall for mammoth feasts and even more mammoth drinking bouts, with the ancestral mead (fermented honey), the native beer or ale, or the newly imported wines from the south poured out unstinted into each man's cup or drinking horn. With the feasts went entertainment—wit contests, dealing in argument and abuse; boasts; insults; gambling; quarrels and blows often enough, to be sure; and the songs of the master's minstrel-poet, the scop; or the jibes of his official orator and fun-maker, the thyle.

In a raised position at the head of the hall sat the master, his immediate family around him. Scattered about on benches were his followers, the members of his band or comitatus—men bound to him in honor and affection, who fought at his side, yielded to him their spoils, and received in return protection, and gifts of land and of treasure, the latter often in the shape of gold broken in rings from the spiral ornaments on his arms, and scattered among the comitatus from the high seat. Among these warriors moved the lord's wife, the mistress of his hall; as such she was

reverenced even in those days long before love as we know of it had come to play any serious part in the affairs of men.

When the feast was ended, the women retired to the bower, and the warriors fell asleep on the benches of the mead-hall. Then the great central fire flickered lower and lower, and the wavering shadows closed in upon the room; the cold, white midnight mist outside rolled down over the horned roof from sea and moor. Silence fell, save for the rattle of falling coals, the snortings of a hero sunk in drunken stupor, or the cry of a lone night bird. And up from their beastly dismal lairs in mere or fen roused the monsters of evil, the souls of the damned; and stepping boldly from border to border of the kingdoms, they came to the high hall of warriors. Then were violent hands laid upon a sleeper; and in the morning one bench was bare.

Some such life as we have here sketched was probably known to our ancestors. And the beliefs and superstitions we have hinted at, they undoubtedly held even after their formal conversion to Christianity. For such was the temperament of these Saxon forefathers that devils and monsters—and gods and saints too—were as real, as credible to them as the Copernican theory and the radio are to us today. The pagan worship of Nature, of the spirits of wood, water, and earth, we can easily sympathize with, when we remember that the worshipers lived in the closest sort of contact with the outdoors, gladdened by the friendly sun, terrified by storms and treacherous swamps. Along with this elemental religion, the reverence for the older gods like Thor and Woden was brought into England by the Germanic invaders; and the

The mental attitude of the Saxons.

remnants of British Christianity, lingering since Roman days, were swept off into the far northwest.

But a Celtic Church of Christ, which had been established by St. Patrick among the numerous tribal kings of Ireland as early as the year 432, and had been flourishing ever since, was during the late Sixth and the Seventh Centuries sending great missionaries into Scotland, England, and the continent of Europe. The center of the Christian Church in Rome had already extended another long arm to reclaim the north; even before the Saxon conquest was complete, St. Augustine was sent from Italy, and landed on the southern shore of England to preach the gospel, in 597. The work of conversion was done rapidly; Irish saints from their island mission of Iona, founded by St. Columba, labored as manfully as the Roman abbot; and before long came the inevitable clash between the two Christian sects, settled in 664 at the Synod of Whitby, where the newly arrived Roman ritual prevailed. By this time Christianity had become the official religion of most of England.

As far as individual souls and their beliefs were concerned, however, the change was much more gradual. It had not been particularly difficult to eject the moribund pagan gods from the pantheon, and to install Christ and Jehovah in their stead. But the simpler, more elemental superstitions and fears—faith in lake-dwelling sprites and moor-walking monsters—persisted stubbornly. By tracing the descent of these demons from Cain, men were able to make a place for them in the Christian system; and the place has never to this day been completely vacated.

The Germanic invaders were by temperament disposed to believe in the dark and terrible powers that overshad-

owed them. Moody and melancholy, they came from low-lying North Sea shores, where life was a constant struggle against cold and clouds and rain. Swamp, lake, and sea were the great enemies of man's happiness—bogs that trapped the solitary wayfarer through the fens, floods that broke over his huts and fields in tempest-driven storms, waves that crushed and swamped his sea-going galleys. Small wonder that he feared and hated the evil spirits who dwelt in the caverns of the deep.

A strong moral sense filled the consciousness of the Teuton. He delighted in stating simple ethical facts: "Woe be to him who, through dire need, shall yield his soul to hell fire, without hope of help." And he felt strongly the actual need for evil powers to punish the transgressors against these facts—the unwary, the luckless, the evil-doer; the host who slew his guest, the kinsman who denied his family ties. These very obligations, of hospitality and of blood, were in fact the basic principles of society. Out of their observance and violation sprang the endless wars and feuds that filled the scanty pages of our earliest literature.

And when the final feud was fought, and the warrior fell in his last battle to defend his burning hall, or to wrest from some enemy the treasure that would enrich his clan, even then his arms and his booty were not reft from him. His bones were burnt, and over his ashes, flanked with weapons and gold, a great funeral mound was raised. Or perhaps his armor-clad body was laid in state at the foot of his galley's mast, with treasure heaped about; and the boat, unpiloted, unmanned, was launched upon the sea. "Nor, to speak truth, is it known to men, to hall counselors or heroes under heaven, who received that cargo."

Such in brief, if we may trust the picture imagination constructs from the few known facts—such was the life of the Anglo-Saxon settler on England's shores thirteen centuries ago.

Scotland and Ireland.

To the north, in Scotland, the Picts and Scots, sprung from the Gaelic branch of the great Celtic race, were banding together in an even fiercer and cruder civilization, destined to become at last the great Scottish kingdom, and to survive in political independence until the Eighteenth Century; the spirit of the Scotch is still free today, and still enriching the life of their southern neighbors. Similarly in Ireland, undaunted by the dominance of the neighboring Germanic civilization, there arose a culture which flourished for five centuries after St. Patrick planted the first seed. Despite the constant feuds of their numberless petty kings, Irishmen won for their homeland the title of "Island of Saints and Scholars," and spread its fame all over northwestern Europe; since then the centuries of internal decay and external oppression have not yet succeeded in breaking the Irish spirit, or drying up the springs of wit and fancy from which thirsty Englishmen are glad enough to drink.

But it is after all with the Englishmen that we have primarily to do. Groups of those morose, hot-blooded, half-pagan warriors had by the beginning of the Seventh Century displaced the Romanized Celts and had scattered themselves over most of the southern half of the island. And it took four hundred years and two conquests to unite them permanently into a single nation.

The history of those years may be briefly outlined. At

he beginning the invaders can be set off roughly in four main divisions: the Jutes in Kent in the southeast; the Saxons in the south and west, in Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; and the Angles n central and eastern England (Mercia and East Anglia), nd in the northeast (Northumbria).

The early history of the Anglo-Saxons in England.

In the Seventh Century Northumbria waxed mighty; he great Church council of Whitby was held within its orders, and a certain culture grew out of its prosperity, entering in the monasteries, and producing writers like the oet Cædmon, or the Venerable Bede, whose Latin *History* he great King Alfred later translated into Anglo-Saxon. Mercia flourished a little later; connected perhaps by family r by trade with their distant Germanic cousins the Danes, he Mercian courtiers enriched their own traditions with Danish lore, and it was perhaps some one of them who, arly in the Eighth Century, recited to his king the poem f Beowulf.

But the Danes themselves had other interests than poetry. Their pirate ships in 793 raided the island monastery of Lindisfarne, off the Northumbrian coast; and thus began the fourth conquest of England. One after another, the villages and monasteries were acked; the power of the northern English was gradually roken, and by the middle of the Ninth Century, fifty or xty years later, the Danes had overrun most of England.

The Danish invasions.

At this critical juncture a savior arose in the southwest. Alfred, king of the West Saxons, with the most amazing owers of organization and perseverance, built up a system f defense which gradually drove the Danes back, until in

878 they bound themselves to limit their activities to a large area in the north and east called the Danelaw. But even this arrangement did not satisfy the West Saxons; Alfred's descendants and successors kept up the struggle for three-quarters of a century more, winning from the Danes such battles as that Brunanburh immortalized in English verse by Anglo-Saxon bard and by Victorian laureate, until by 955 the Danish rule had been broken even in the Danelaw, and the West Saxon kingdom was established as the dominant influence over all England.

Unfortunately, however, the realm, with its administrative center at Winchester in the far south, was too large, too loosely organized, to survive under a weak king; and in 978 a weakling came to the throne in the person of Ethelred, the Redeless, commonly called "the Unready." Two years later the Danish raids began again, and in 991 Ethelred instituted the fatal practice of bribing the Danes to leave him in peace. The payments of Danegeld were so much oil on the fire of the invaders' greed; the more the English paid, the more the Danes raided.

In the meantime a new problem was arising. Across the Channel in northern France a group of Viking Danes from the north had settled as early as 912, establishing there the Duchy of Normandy. As these Normans grew in power, their harbors offered a safe base from which the Danish pirates could sail against England; and in 1002 Ethelred sent a punitive expedition against the Norman Duke Richard II to put a stop to these unfriendly practices. When the expeditionary force returned to England, it brought back Duke Richard's sister Emma as a

Normandy.

second wife to the widower Ethelred and a stepmother to his son Edmund. The crowd of Norman hangers-on who accompanied Emma were the advance guard of the Norman conquest, the fifth and last invasion of England.

Events moved rapidly. Ethelred, in a massacre of Danish settlers, made the mistake of including the sister of Sweyn, king of Denmark. Sweyn in retaliation invaded England with an organized military force for conquest—no mere desultory pirate raids this time. Ethelred and Edmund were disposed of, and Canute, Sweyn's son, succeeded as king of all England. He ruled, however, as a native king, not as a foreign conqueror; he married the Norman Emma who was now Ethelred's widow; and after his death and that of his two sons, Emma's son by Ethelred, Edward the Confessor, came to the throne.

Edward's accession marks the end of Danish control in English affairs. As early as *Beowulf,* before the first military invasion of the Danes, we saw their legends and culture mixing with the Anglo-Saxon base; and after their political sway came to an end, their lore still lingered—to give us, perhaps, in a later day, native English poems about a Danish hero, Havelok; and to contribute to the rich traditions of northern England, whence many ballads and romances have sprung. So too the Dane has strongly influenced our language in vocabulary and pronunciation; it is he who gave us, for instance, such common words as "they," such common pronunciations as that of "gate," which, except for Danish influence, we should pronounce as if it were spelled "yate." In other respects his influence is not important; being racially a cousin of the Anglo-

Saxon, he contributed few distinguishable new characteristics to Anglo-Saxon culture; and although for a time he strengthened the Germanic basis of English civilization, his invasions may have helped to weaken the English State and to make the Norman conquest possible.

It was King Edward the Confessor who succeeded the last Danish king; and with Edward, a timid, harmless young fellow brought up in Normandy, half Norman by birth and wholly by feeling, the Saxon rule of England closes. When the "saintly" king died in 1066, he left three claimants for his throne. The first of these, the young Saxon Edgar Atheling, Edward's cousin on his father's side, was passed over with little ado. The next claimant was Duke William of Normandy, Edward's cousin on his mother's side. But there was a third, the Saxon Earl Harold, Edward's brother-in-law, about whom Bulwer wrote one of his novels, *Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings*. Harold, being on the ground, seized the throne first.

The Norman conquest.

He did not enjoy it long. William insisted that Harold had previously vowed to support the Norman claim. (Tennyson has given us an imaginative description of Harold's oath.) The Norman duke, who was backed by the Pope and several sovereigns of Europe, prepared to invade England in defense of his rights. Harold, who had just defeated a treacherous brother and his Norwegian allies in the north at Stamford Bridge, was forced to meet the Norman invaders three weeks later in battle at Senlac, near Hastings. As William's warriors rushed into the fray, their minstrel Taillefer sang before them a song of Roland, the old French hero; the English

were defeated, Harold was almost surely killed, and the Normans were masters of England. On Christmas Day, 1066, William the Conqueror was crowned king of England. His direct descendant, his twenty-four times great-grandson George V, is king of England today.

MAP II

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

CHAPTER III

FEUDAL ENGLAND

(1066-1272)

"The splendor falls on castle walls."
TENNYSON, *Song* from *The Princess.*

The Norman archers and heavy-armed horsemen who swept the field at Hastings were men very different from the ax-swinging, javelin-throwing Teutons whom they conquered. The newcomers were, to be sure, descended from Danish pirates, Teutons themselves, but one hundred and fifty years' residence among the French, with many inter-marriages between the two races, had wrought great changes in their temper. The fierce passions of the Vikings still smoldered in their hearts, but contact with the older Latin civilization of France had developed in the Norman character a sort of calculating shrewdness that rendered it even more terrible.

The character of the Normans.

On the other hand, the Normans had also assimilated many of the softer qualities of southern culture and were themselves in some ways more civilized, more refined, than their distant cousins, their island neighbors to the north. The victorious knights who thundered all day long through the Saxon ranks at Senlac were ready, when the battle was over, to put on clothes more luxurious, more splendid, than those to which the vanquished were accustomed. Norman feasts were richer, Norman wines were rarer, even most

Norman sports were more refined, than those of Saxon England.

And there was another quality, far more important than these, which the Norman had picked up, perhaps, from the Roman side of his background, and which he brought to England with him—the passion for method and order, the genius for organization. Backed by his enormous driving energy, his spirit of enterprise, of *push,* that had urged him across the Channel in the first place, the conqueror was bound to practice on England this gift of his for organizing. England, dismembered by generations of civil feud and Danish invasion, was sadly in need of some such remedy.

The feudal system.

One of the first indications of the Norman system was the development of feudalism. William of Normandy punished those Saxons who bore arms against him by confiscating their estates, which he distributed as rewards among his followers. Each Norman noble received with his fief, or grant of land, the promise of the king's protection; but he vowed in return to render military service to his ruler when necessary, bringing his own band of retainers with him. Such was the tenure of his land; only on these terms might he keep the prize awarded him. And the individual noble in turn applied the same process to his dependents, parceling out his acres among them, and receiving in return their oath of fealty, their promise to serve him with their weapons and their bodies.

This system, after all, was not radically different from the old Saxon plan of making each village chief subservient to his overlord, his earl or king, and at the same time

master of his own followers. But it differed in that it was a *system,* not mere custom, and in that it was intimately connected with the physical land, which in a small and fertile island like England has appealed from the beginning and still does appeal to the most fundamental instincts of man.

English feudalism differed too from Continental feudalism; William required not only his chief vassals to whom he granted land but also all his Norman followers to swear immediate allegiance to him by the oath of Salisbury. This precaution made it easier for him to stamp out revolt among his barons.

Out of this feudal system there developed in the new Norman England a social system centering in the castle of the feudal lord. To that moat-encircled stronghold his underlings came at his command to render service, even to their lives. From it he led forth his band of retainers to fulfill his own obligations to overlord or king; or, only too often, to wage private war against some rival baron.

Anglo-Norman society and culture.

The king, moving among his own castles, or among those of his subjects, gathered about him a semi-permanent court of clerks, advisers, administrative officers, and noblemen rendering personal service in return for honors and rewards —bearing his cup, holding his stirrup, counting his breadloaves, stabling his horses. Such a highly organized court, though it added splendor to the king's dignity, was a difficult and expensive household to handle, and we can understand why all the people in a village fled to the forest in dismay when their royal master approached them in his

progress through his realm, and proposed to honor them by becoming their guest.

In such a court, or in the castles of nobles, it might be expected that literature would flourish under the patronage of the great. But literature as we know it did not flourish to any great extent in feudal England. It did not flourish, primarily because the Normans were men of action and of organization, with little taste or leisure for that habit of contemplation from which great art springs, with little genius for the intangible beauties of poetry. The genius of the Norman did express itself in his warfare, his society, his politics—and even more gloriously in his architecture. When we behold Durham Cathedral, we forgive Norman England for producing no second *Beowulf*.

Another reason for the weakness of our literature during this period is the very simple one that there was no satisfactory language for the Anglo-Norman writer to use. The Conqueror and his followers, who were not overly interested in literature, spoke Norman French. The language of the scholars and priests whom he imported, and who might be expected to have borne at that time the brunt of literary production, was Latin. And the conquered natives of the island used their own Anglo-Saxon. It took approximately three centuries for England to develop its own tongue; and during those three centuries we cannot hope to find much great literature.

William I, the Conqueror, 1066-1087.

But it is time for us to turn our attention more closely to that masterly conqueror whose work was the making of Norman England—to William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy; to William I, King of England. A fierce, gigantic warrior, pitiless

nd brave, silent and sagacious, the illegitimate son of a Norman duke and a tanner's daughter, he had as a boy nherited his duchy at the age of seven, with the immediate roblem of defending it against rebellious subjects and ealous rivals. Having at last reduced his own house to rder, in the prime of his life he crossed the Channel, acked by the religious and patriotic enthusiasm of his nited duchy, to assume the crown of Saint Edward.

But that Christmas Day coronation in 1066 marks the eginning, not the end, of his real labors. First, all Engand was to be subdued, and the very disunion and conusion which had rendered the Anglo-Saxon defense ineffective, made William's basic task of establishing control ver the whole country doubly difficult. For years the axons, often aided by the Danes, flared up in local revolt; n 1069 William went so far as to have himself crowned second time in York, as a gesture to convince the rebelous north; the gesture proving ineffective, he proceeded o harry the northern provinces with fire and sword until is faithful subjects—the few of them who survived—cknowledged their error. Finally in 1071 the Saxon reistance centering in the famous Hereward, "the Wake," as e is called in Kingsley's novel, was overcome, and William ould consider himself master. But not for long; four years ter some of William's own barons, displeased because he ould not leave them free to ravage his new land, rebelled gainst the king, setting a precedent that lasted for centuies in the innumerable risings of the nobles. And once nore the scourging hand of the Conqueror was extended, o crush.

But even as it crushed, it ruled. And like Danish Canute,

The policies of William I.

Norman William sought to rule in England not as a foreign tyrant but as an English king. To be sure, some of his policies sound to us hardly like those of a father of his country—for example, the wasting of seventeen thousand acres to become New Forest, where the king might hunt to his heart's content, but where the lesser man who poached a deer paid for it with his eyes.

His own tyranny, however, was the only one that William recognized. Law and order were imposed on every subject, from the unruliest baron down to the commonest highway robber in the realm, until an unarmed man might ride the king's roads with a bag of gold at his saddlebow, unmolested. At first William retained the Saxon laws as far as possible, and enforced them by means of Saxon deputies. When the conquered natives, with their obstinate noncoöperation that lingered for generations (and lives today in the pages of *Ivanhoe*), forced the king to set Norman officers over them, he began to superimpose Norman feudal law upon them.

Again, the Conqueror established a system of general taxation, based on the precedent of the old Danegeld which Saxon kings had levied upon their subjects to bribe off the Vikings. And as a basis for appraisal, William carried out the extended census of his subjects and their possessions that constitutes the great Domesday Book.

Another far-reaching policy of the new king's concerned itself with ecclesiastical matters. The Catholic Church in Normandy was much more closely in contact with the Papacy than was the Catholic Church in isolated England; before the Conquest the Norman nobles had submitted to the Church's "Truce of God" by which they limited their

rivate feuds to Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays; nd the Pope himself had approved of William's expedi- ion to punish the perjured Harold. As William mastered England, he established Norman priests at the altars of his hurches and bound the English Church closer to the central ower of the Papacy. He also created separate courts under he jurisdiction of the Church, an ill-advised step that raised rival to the regal authority and caused to his descendants ome of their bitterest embarrassments, not the least of vhich were the murder of Thomas Becket, and the excom- nunication of King John. Not until the time of Henry VIII, five hundred years later, was that rival finally forced nto a subordinate position.

And then, having brought to England peace with the word, having labored for twenty-one years to lay the foun- ations for an English nation, having planted with his own and some of the institutions that grew to cast their hadows over all English history, William died. And from is death chamber his frightened followers fled, leaving the Conqueror's body naked and alone upon the floor.

William's second son, named after his father and called Rufus—"the Redhead"—succeeded to the throne as William II in 1087. To an elder brother Robert went Normandy; and the inevitable strug- le between the two realms began. The Norman duke was or a time distracted by his trip to the Holy Land on the irst Crusade (1096), the initial one of several attempts nade by the Christian monarchs of Europe to rescue from he Turks the sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem. But when Rufus died in 1100, Robert was cheerfully ready to annex he island kingdom. Not so the islanders. If they could

William II, Rufus, 1087-1100.

not hope to place a descendant of their own great Saxon Alfred upon the throne, they had at least a candidate born within their borders, the youngest son of the Conqueror (and brother to William Rufus), whom they crowned king as Henry I.

The problems of his predecessors descended to him—the barons must be kept in their places, the clergy held firmly in check. By the Charter of Liberties in 1100, a forerunner of Magna Carta, the new king promised his subjects to put an end to the abuses of the preceding reign. Six years later, by a "compromise" with Archbishop Anselm, the king established in effect his own right to control the appointment and election of bishops. The Saxon dwellers in distant village and town were not suffered to forget that a king reigned over all England, and English military power asserted itself across the Channel before the jealous eyes of Normandy and France, reducing Normandy to an English possession by the victory of Tinchebrai, six years after Henry's coronation. In Wales, the king attempted to subjugate the British Celts; and by that very attempt made the spirit of his realm more susceptible to Celtic influence.

The reign of Henry I, 1100-1135.

Another contribution of Henry's was his organization of the legal system of the kingdom. Wherever possible the old Saxon laws were retained and vigorously enforced; and by sending the judges from his own court to travel on circuit throughout the country, the king, the Lion of Justice, gave those laws a new prestige, and helped establish a uniform legal basis for all his subjects.

During these comparatively peaceful and prosperous

ears the national culture was growing deeper and broader.

The development of national culture.

The charming if somewhat artificial institution of chivalry, with its tournaments among armed knights, its courtly love between faithful squire and lovely mistress, was becoming associated with eudal castle life, refining the manners of the nobility. New and vigorous monastic orders, groups of men who had vowed to lead together pure and helpful lives under he auspices of the Church, established themselves all over England, and provided places of refuge and inspiration for people of intellectual and artistic ability. And the traditional English good cheer was permeating all ranks of the people. To all this progress toward richer, happier life, he great king, with his own cultivated tastes that gave him the nickname of Beauclerk—"Fine scholar"—lent the veight of his influence.

An important fruit of this new culture was Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. Geoffrey, the rchdeacon of a Welsh monastery, in a long, fanciful account of the British kings since the beginning, developed at reat length the legends of Brutus, founder of the Britons, nd of King Arthur. The half-formed English nation, vith its many discordant racial elements, was desperately n need of a national figurehead whom all could reverence, nd strangely enough in the old Celtic Arturus they found heir hero. Among the Welsh there had always lived the elief that some day Arthur would return from his mysterius resting place in the island of Avalon, to lead them to ictory and independence. In the imagination of Saxon nd Norman England Geoffrey's story of the Welsh hero

spread like wildfire; and Arthur lives today as one of the greatest figures in English literature.

Half a century after Geoffrey, the monks at Glastonbury, in southwestern England, claimed to have found the body of King Arthur buried there. But even this presumably fatal blow to the resurrection hope did not destroy the hero's inspirational value. Crowds of pilgrims flocked to the supposed grave, and at about the same time there appeared another romantic legend connected with the same spot.

This legend told of the landing of Joseph of Arimathea where the ruined abbey of Glastonbury now stands. Joseph, a contemporary of Christ, brought with him the Holy Grail, the cup from which Jesus drank at the Last Supper, and in which the blood of the Crucified Savior was caught; and he founded the first Christian Church in England. Later the recovery of the lost Grail became the chief enterprise of King Arthur's Round Table of knights.

Obviously such a story is even richer in political implications than is Geoffrey's account of Arthur. For one thing, the English king acquired a powerful argument against the jealous pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church in England; on the other hand, the Church itself used the idea of the Grail quest to counteract the seductive appeal of more worldly interests; and all the time the monks of Glastonbury were gaining in prestige, and in revenues paid by the inquisitive pilgrims.

Geoffrey of Monmouth had written his chronicle in Latin prose. Latin was, in these Middle Ages, the universal language of priests and scholars. And in England Latin was especially valuable as an escape from a serious

nguistic dilemma, for French was spoken by the courtiers, ne Norman nobles and their descendants, but the middle-lass Englishmen clung obstinately to their ancestral Anglo-axon. After the Norman conquest, some three centuries assed before the native tongue could establish itself in olite society and in literature; and during that period the lder English, or Anglo-Saxon, underwent many changes, ecoming at last the triumphant Middle English in which haucer wrote and from which our own language descends.

In the life of Henry I there was a great tragedy—the rowning of his son and heir, William, in 1120, when the famous White Ship sank in crossing the Channel. Henry's last wish, when he himself died in 1135, as to be succeeded by his daughter Matilda, or Maud, alled "Empress." But a nephew Stephen seized the hrone and tried for nineteen years to hold it against ne adherents of Matilda, and against his own cruel and rasping barons. Stephen, the hero of John Keats's unfin-hed tragedy, gave England one of the very worst reigns has ever known. In kindness and weakness he created ew earls, and permitted his nobles to build great castles of eir own. Soon they were all at swords' points. Their wn feuds, and the civil war between king and empress, rtured the land; it was the people who suffered. In the eterborough version of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* a cord in the old tongue kept up year by year in certain onasteries such as Peterborough, begun long before the orman conquest but destined soon to end, we find a con-mporary, first-hand account of what those sufferings were. is not pretty reading.

Stephen, 1135-1154.

When Stephen, last of the Norman kings, died in 1154, England realized that a strong ruler, despotic though he might be, was its only salvation. And luckily fate provided one of the strongest kings England has ever had, Henry II, the son of the Empress Matilda. This boy of twenty-one, Count of Anjou in France, and founder of the Angevin or Plantagenet dynasty in England, was master of many broad French provinces in his own right; by his marriage to the ferocious Eleanor, heiress of the French territory of Aquitaine, he brought even more Continental possessions to the English Crown, and made inevitable the recurring wars with France that mark the following centuries of English history.

The accession of Henry II, 1154.

Henry was an energetic, enthusiastic man, good-humored except for his occasional fits of rage; and passionately interested in war and matters of state, in sport and culture, in men. These qualities, together with his many accomplishments, prove his title to greatness. The rebellious barons were reduced to order; the legal system developed by his own grandfather, the first Henry, was reëstablished and strengthened; the rival power of the Church, centering in the great Archbishop Thomas Becket, was checked; and the English people were united once more to their sovereign in bonds of affection and respect. Over all his vast insular and Continental possessions, really an empire, the king ruled with a wise and firm hand. By intervention among the rival, warring Irish kings, Henry extended his sway over their island too—incidentally doing the Irish themselves no good.

Around his distinguished throne, Henry gathered statesmen, scholars, and poets. It was probably while he was

ing that the famous University of Oxford made its first beginnings among a group of English scholars expelled rom the University of Paris. To his reign French literature owes a debt of gratitude for the lays of Marie de France, his illegitimate half-sister. These are delightful narrative poems written in French, dealing with legends of hivalry, and rich with the mysterious beauty of Celtic fairy ore.

Not only did the king stimulate literature, but he himself also contributed to its subject matter—by his love for his mistress, Fair Rosamond, with whom he sought relief from the plots and rages of Queen Eleanor; and by his famous struggle with his friend Becket, of which we read today in Tennyson's play.

Henry II's relations with Thomas Becket.

Becket and Henry loved each other like brothers, and he king appointed his friend to be chancellor, one of his hief ministers; later Henry made him Archbishop of Canerbury, head of the Church in England, despite the protests f Becket, who foresaw the trouble that must arise if his llegiance were thus divided. The king had always tried o assert considerable authority over ecclesiastical affairs, s we see most vividly in the Latin Chronicle by the monk ocelyn of Brakelond, in which Henry presides at the elecon of a new Abbot Samson for the monastery of St. Edmundsbury. It is the same story, the same "Hero" Samson, hat Carlyle incorporated in his *Past and Present*.

When Becket, true to his new trust, asserted church rights gainst the king, Henry flew into a rage. Certain unrincipled courtiers heard his ambiguous denunciations; hey slaughtered the Archbishop at the high altar of his

own cathedral. In three years Becket became a saint; pilgrims flocked to his miracle-working tomb. Two centuries later a group of these pilgrims were immortalized in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales.*

The martyrdom of Becket enormously weakened Henry's stand against the Church, his claim that the king's own court should supervise the trials of clergymen accused of crimes against the State. Centuries later, clerical criminals could still claim "benefit of clergy" and demand that they be tried in their own church courts. In fact, the privilege was extended to cover any evil-doer who was sufficiently educated to pose as a cleric.

As Henry's reign drew to a close, the king could look back with pride over his many great constructive accomplishments. He had instituted important new law courts, he had brought the jury into general use, he had done his share toward giving England a settled, constitutional government rather than an irresponsible despotism.

But his last years were saddened by the disloyal plots of his undutiful wife, and his undutiful sons. Feeling himself a beaten king, he died in 1189, leaving his crown to the best of those sons, the Lion-hearted Richard I.

The accession of Richard I, 1189.

This splendid savage could hardly speak English, and spent in England only a few months out of his ten years' reign. Thanks to his father's organization of the State the government in England could continue without the presence of the new king. To his chief hobbies, first, of crusading, and later, of fighting the French, he devoted his brilliant military genius. In the opening year of his reign, Richard, having wrung what money he could out of his

ountry, departed with a band of followers for the Holy ,and, to participate in the Third Crusade; it is with this ampaign that Scott's *Talisman* deals. Joining temporarily vith the French king Philip II, "Augustus," he captured he city of Acre, in Syria. But Philip departed, intent on tirring up trouble at home, and the campaign in Palestine id not prosper. The news from England was not reassur-ng; and in 1192, after two unsuccessful attempts to win erusalem itself, King Richard left the Holy Land forever. The familiar story of his capture for ransom when he was eturning to England, and of the discovery of his prison y his favorite minstrel Blondel, suggests the adventurous, oetic strain in Cœur de Lion's own nature.

All in all, he was a figure too vivid to be neglected in nglish literature. It was perhaps during his reign that he noble bandit Robin Hood shot the red deer and out-vitted the king's Sheriff of Nottingham in Sherwood orest. Richard and Robin both live still in the pages of *vanhoe*.

There are other less colorful but equally important as-ects of Richard's reign. The king's own absence left his ministers free to carry on the constructive policies of his father, improving the jury system, binding the people to the Crown, nd organizing the government; his concerns abroad prob-bly stimulated the growing commercial interest of the nglish; and his demands for money to use in military perations drove the people into protests against unjust axation, and enabled the growing cities to purchase from im important rights of self-government.

nglland during he reign of ichard I.

The middle-class urban citizen was rising to a position

of importance; gilds or protective unions of merchants and handicraftsmen were developing everywhere; money came more and more into use; the lowest classes of peasants, who had formerly rendered feudal service to their immediate overlord by manual labor on his lands, were sometimes able to fulfil their obligation by the payment of pence. Even though most of these serfs or villeins were still bound like slaves to the land on which they lived, and passed from owner to owner along with it, the feudal system was beginning to break down.

All during Richard's absence, his treacherous younger brother John was scheming against him; and when the Lion-hearted died in battle in France in 1199, John, ignoring the superior rights of a nephew Arthur, seized the crown. What happened to Arthur thereafter is nobly imagined in Shakespeare's play of *King John*.

The new king, often called "Lackland" because as a boy he had no territories of his own, was one of the very worst that England has ever known. To begin with, he became involved in a struggle with Philip Augustus of France, who supported the claims of Prince Arthur. In the course of this war, the English were so consistently defeated that by 1204 John had lost all of his French possessions save Aquitaine.

The reign of John, 1199-1216.

Next, in a quarrel with the Pope over the election of a new archbishop, John was punished by having his whole realm laid under an interdict, an almost total suspension of the functionings of the Church. Against this weapon, a formidable one in a medieval Christian state, John remained obdurate, until the Pope excommunicated the king himself, declaring him to be an outcast from the Church

nd authorizing the French king to seize his realm. This dded punishment was too much; and John yielded to the Church.

In the meantime his own misrule and exorbitant demands ad alienated the English barons from him. Strengthened in their strictly English patriotism by the loss of their French lands and the severance of nost of their ties across the Channel, they marched against im and on Runnymede, an island in the Thames, June 5, 1215, they forced him to sign Magna Carta, the Great Charter, in which he acknowledged the rights and privileges f his nobles.

Magna Carta, 1215.

In the following year King John brought his ignoble fe to an ignoble end by gorging peaches and new cider.

Yet the years of his reign were not unproductive of reat results. In Magna Carta the English nation estab- shed the principle that the king's power was not absolute, nat he himself was subject to the laws of his realm. And was during the reign of John that the English language vas first used in a great poem. The so-called *Brut,* by Layamon, "Lawman," a humble priest in an obscure coun- ry parish, was a long verse chronicle, another legendary istory of the kings of England since the mythical Brutus. was adapted from a French poem by Wace; but it was vritten in English—in a language based, to be sure, on Anglo-Saxon, and showing as yet very little direct influ- nce of French, but still a language far removed from that f *Beowulf* and advancing toward our own. Here appeared gain the story of Arthur; here are to be found Leir King King Lear) and many other subjects of later literature. Here under a king of Norman-French blood, the descen-

dant of the Anglo-Saxons has in his own tongue and verse glorified the Celtic heroes of his native land. Here is the beginning of an English literature.

The son of John, Henry III, began his reign as a boy of nine in 1216. It is chiefly noteworthy for the continuance of the struggle between nobles and king. Henry, by constantly involving himself in foreign wars, and by surrounding himself with foreign favorites, antagonized his own barons so completely that they rose against him under the leadership of Simon de Montfort. They were for a time successful, and de Montfort forced the king to summon a great assembly to help in the government of the kingdom. This council, in 1265, included among its members not only the barons, but also representatives of the county knights, and of the townsmen; it marked a great step forward in the progress from earlier meetings and councils toward a national Parliament.

English progress during the reign of Henry III, 1216-1272.

The triumph of the barons was short-lived; their leader died in the same year, and they themselves were soon defeated. They had failed in their attempt to rule England, but they had won gloriously in reaffirming the principle that the governed had a right to a share in governing.

Not only did Henry III's reign of fifty-six years see a gradual development in the English State toward an organized, constitutional government, but progress in other respects also was continued. At the same time that political events were welding the English nation into a firmer unit, scholars and clerics, with their international contacts and their international tongue, were broadening the culture of the English, and spreading its influence over Europe. The

cities, the gilds, and commerce continued their advance. If physical life was still crude and comfortless, with dirt and disease rampant; if the national temper was still stultified by ignorance and superstition, there were new agencies combating these evils. Two great orders of friars or religious brothers, the Dominicans, founded by the Spanish Saint Dominic, and the Franciscans, followers of Francis of Assisi, first reached England early in this century, the thirteenth. Devoted to organizing and purifying the lives of men, spiritual and physical both, they wandered over the highways of England, teaching, preaching, and doing good. Unfortunately, their original high purposes often degenerated, and "friar," as we can guess after reading Chaucer, too soon became a synonym for "rogue"; but they produced, nevertheless, great scholars and preachers, and did their share toward refining English civilization.

The lesser clergy, not monks or friars but mere humble priests, often labored nobly and sincerely for the good of their parishioners; the great bishops and dignitaries, if they lived like lords and dabbled too deeply in worldly affairs, encouraged at least the building of the great Gothic cathedrals which remain today as the chief monuments of medieval England in her glory.

Our literature was still pitifully weak. But the native tongue was coming more and more into use. In the year 1258 a royal proclamation was for the first time issued in English—Middle English, as we call it now. The older Anglo-Saxon was gradually developing into a language that would some day serve as a medium of communication for all Englishmen; by the loss of complicated forms and endings, it was growing constantly more flexible; by the

addition of new terms from Latin and French it was gaining in richness.

At the same time the highly developed standards of contemporary French literature were working down through the cultured French-speaking nobility into the consciousness of the nation. Light and color, love of life, lucidity, variety of artistic form—qualities almost totally lacking in the earlier Anglo-Saxon writings—were appearing in the literature written in England, though not in the native tongue. Now and then a worthwhile poem was composed in English—a song like the familiar *Cuckoo Song:* "Sumer is icumen in," or a long narrative romance such as that of Havelok, the Dane, who had perhaps fought at Brunanburh.

The language of the Englishman was not yet ready for the highest use; the artistic qualities of the French had not yet been thoroughly assimilated. But the time was inevitably approaching when these two should be combined to give the world one of its most priceless heritages.

CHAPTER IV

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(1272-1485)

"And some chose trade to bargain the better,
As it seems to our sight that such men thrive."

Piers the Plowman.

When Henry III died in 1272, his son and successor Edward I was crusading in the Holy Land. This energetic youth, red-cheeked and fair-haired like an Anglo-Saxon, and so tall that men nicknamed him "Longshanks," did not reach England until nearly two years after his accession. Once he was settled on the throne, however, he found plenty of problems to keep him busy.

The accession of Edward I, 1272.

The first of these was the conquest of Wales. The Celtic natives of this mountainous principality in the west of England, the descendants of those Britons who had taken refuge there from the Anglo-Saxon invaders, had for some time acknowledged the theoretical supremacy of the English king. But the Welsh prince Llywelyn refused to do homage to Edward; and the English were occupied for five years fighting in Wales, until the defeat and death of Llywelyn in 1282 ended the Welsh resistance. Two years later, Wales itself was formally incorporated into the English kingdom; in the same year, according to tradition, the Welsh agreed to accept Edward's offer of a prince who had been born in their

The conquest of Wales.

own land and who could speak no word of English. Whereupon the wily Edward presented as his candidate his own baby boy born at Carnarvon. Upon this son, Edward of Carnarvon, who later became Edward II of England, the title of Prince of Wales was officially conferred in 1301. Ever since, the heir to the English throne has been known as the Prince of Wales.

There was, however, another even more important result of the Welsh campaigns. It was in Wales that the English soldiers learned the military efficacy of the yew long-bow and the cloth-yard arrow; and the value of the lesson was demonstrated half a century later when English bowmen won the victories of Crécy and Poitiers.

The next great problem that faced Edward I was in Scotland. There three rivals, John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and Hastings, were struggling for the throne of their country. Edward, as feudal overlord of many Scottish nobles who held lands in England, agreed to settle the dispute; and finally chose Balliol, who was crowned in 1292.

Edward I's interference in Scotland.

But this new king resented the English supremacy that had established him, particularly as it involved his appearance before an English law court to answer a suit over an unpaid wine bill run up by his predecessor. Spurred on by the intriguing King Philip IV, "the Fair," of France, Balliol defied the English. He was soon defeated by Edward, his country was subjugated, and as a crowning indignity the ancient coronation stone at Scone, believed to be the very stone whereon Jacob pillowed his head when he dreamed of the ladder of angels, was taken to West-

minster Abbey, where it still may be seen in the English coronation throne.

The Scottish people, however, kept up the struggle. As we may read in Jane Porter's *Scottish Chiefs,* they found a leader in William Wallace; and when Wallace was betrayed to the enemy, another Robert Bruce, grandson of Balliol's rival, took his place.

In the meantime, new troubles had arisen for Edward in France. The English possessions across the Channel were a never-ending cause of friction between the two nations; when Philip IV tried to seize them, Edward declared war—a prelude to the protracted struggle known as the Hundred Years' War which lasted through the Fourteenth Century.

Edward I's struggle with France.

The French immediately joined hands with Balliol's Scots, inaugurating the long series of alliances which for centuries united England's two most dangerous enemies against her. France began to exert a powerful influence on Scottish culture, in addition to stimulating the Scots' natural hostility to the English; and from the first part of the Fourteenth Century to the Eighteenth, England was continually distracted by the joint intrigues of Scotland and France.

Nor was this the only move of the wily Philip IV that closely concerned the English. In 1305 the French king exerted such influence over the Papacy that the Pope himself was established at Avignon in France; this "Babylonian Captivity" lasted for three-fourths of a century, and was followed by the Great Schism, during which there were two rival Popes, one in France and one in Italy. French control did not make the Papacy very sympathetic toward

England, nor did the Captivity and the Schism increase English respect and affection for the Pope. The way was being prepared for Wyclif's heresies and the English Reformation.

Steps in the development of a constitutional monarchy.

The emergency in French and Scottish relations proved highly beneficial to the youthful English nation. For one thing, Englishmen were united in the discipline of unremitting foreign wars, and in the patriotic ideal to retain their French dominions and to dominate Scotland. Then too, King Edward needed money to prosecute his wars. One of the chief sources of ready cash, the Jewish money-lenders, he had already eliminated by expelling all the Jews from England in 1290. He may have had cogent reasons for this step; the victims had a reputation for extortion; they were exempt from the laws of England; and the cruel and fantastic prejudices of their Christian neighbors (as witness Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*) were constantly causing trouble. But, with the Jewish bankers gone, the king was forced to go to his own people for funds. In 1295 he summoned the "Model" Parliament; for the first time, all three "estates" —clergy, nobles, and commons—were represented together.

The Parliament granted to Edward the necessary money for the prosecution of his foreign wars, but it also reaffirmed and formulated many of the constitutional privileges for which the English people had been struggling all through the Thirteenth Century. The power of the king was definitely limited; and the power of the people, through the enactment of laws and the control of taxation, was definitely extended. All through Edward's reign, the law-making process continued; and many of the

asic principles of English and American law today are ounded on statutes first passed during those thirty-five ears.

Other important steps were made in English progress vhile the first Edward was king. The expulsion of the ews, unfortunate in itself, resulted in the stimulation of inance and trade among the native English people; as he Jews were kept out for centuries, English commerce vas free to develop extensively. The levying of an export uty on wool opened a new field for finance, and was a ymptom, if not a cause, of rising trade and industry.

The more closely we observe Edward's reign, the surer ve become that here we have an English king of an Cnglish nation, that the days of a medieval Norman espot, tyrannizing over a horde of lawless nobles and rude oors, have ended, and that the ultimate development of a onstitutional, industrial civilization is inevitable.

In the field of literature, Edward I's England was still itifully weak. Since the days of his grandfather John, the English language had been coming more and more into use; but it was still far from being accepted in polite society. Moreover, there was not any one English dialect; the speech f the southerner, the westerner, or the northerner, was ar different from that London English from which our wn tongue descended.

nglish language nd literature nder Edward I.

At about this time, however, there were certain developents in the field out of which our greatest literature was ater to spring. That was the field of drama. The ritual f the Church had early given rise to a kind of pageant ealing with sacred subjects and acted in the churches in

connection with religious services. These pageants were popular; later they were presented outdoors on the church steps or in the churchyards, and at last in the streets of the towns. Simultaneously much new detail was added to the Biblical basis of these embryo plays, the native tongue was adopted (as in the Chester Miracle play of *Noah's Flood*), and the production was taken over from the clergy by the gilds and crafts, protective unions of merchants and artisans. Eventually the plays were performed in the yards of inns, by groups of semi-professional traveling players. But that did not come about till long after the days of Edward I.

The death of Edward I, 1307.

In 1307 this strong and good king died. External circumstances were responsible for many of the accomplishments of his reign, but he himself deserves much of the praise. A brief boyish association with Simon de Montfort in the days of Henry III had taught Edward many valuable political and military lessons, and had inspired in him a sympathy for his people, an understanding of the popular point of view, that enabled him later to work with rather than against his subjects. Most valuable of all, perhaps, were the energy and perseverance of his own character—qualities that survived even after his death in the phrase "Hammer of the Scots" upon his tomb, and in his order that his bones be carried with the army on every expedition against his northern rivals, that never save in victory should he rest in peace.

The reign of Edward II, 1307-1327.

To such a king, Edward of Carnarvon was an unworthy successor. This ill-starred ruler, the central figure of Marlowe's mighty tragedy *Edward II,* was of a weak and shallow nature which made him an easy prey to his friends as well as

is enemies. His generosity to his favorite, Piers Gaves-
on, aroused the jealousy of the barons; his misrule filled
hem with contempt. In 1310 they rose in arms against him
nd forced him to agree to a thorough reform—more for
heir own interests, however, than for the sake of the
uffering nation. When the king broke his pledges, the
arons seized Gaveston and executed him.

A further humiliation awaited the second Edward in
cotland. In 1314 he met the Scottish army, led by the
ounger Bruce, in battle at Bannockburn, and suffered the
orst defeat that the Scots ever inflicted upon the Eng-
sh. For Robert Bruce this was the climax of the long
ears of patient effort that were recorded half a century
ter in the epic poem *Bruce,* by Barbour, Archdeacon of
berdeen. For Edward it was the second in the series
f indignities that led up to his deposition and death.

Unable to rule alone, the king now associated with
mself two new favorites, the Despensers, father and son.
gain the barons revolted; but this time their rebellion
as crushed, and Edward attempted to assert his inde-
endence by an ineffective gesture in Parliament. But he
ckoned without his queen, Isabella. A fierce, resentful
oman, impatient of his weakness and of the affronts
eaped upon herself, she joined Roger Mortimer, one of
e rebellious barons, in France. With French aid they
vaded England in 1325, killed the detested favorites, and
ptured the king himself. A little over a year later
arliament declared Edward II incompetent to reign and
ose his son Prince Edward, a boy of fourteen, king in his
ead.

Weeping, Edward of Carnarvon accepted the decree.

The English Parliament, an institution still in its infancy, had already arrogated to itself the right to free the English people from an unfit sovereign; so much for the power of kings! The play was played; nothing remained to be accomplished save the brutal murder of the fallen king; and this epilogue was performed, with appropriate ceremonies, a few months later.

The new king, Edward III, was for four years dominated by the Queen-mother Isabella and Roger Mortimer. When he finally threw off their yoke and began his independent rule, he found himself faced by many of the same problems that had troubled his father and grandfather before him.

The accession of Edward III, 1327.

The death of King Robert Bruce of Scotland had left his infant son David upon the throne. Seizing this opportunity, Edward Balliol, a descendant of the family which had opposed the Bruces forty years previously, claimed the crown. The English were glad enough to support him, and in the great victory of Halidon Hill, 1333, commemorated in the songs of Lawrence Minot, they crushed the loyal Scots and wiped out the disgrace of Bannockburn. Ousted by Balliol, little David Bruce fled to France, where he found a powerful ally against the English in the new king, Philip VI.

The defeat of the Scots.

The Scotch quarrel was not Philip's only pretext for troubling the English king, for Edward III himself was glancing covetously at the French crown. Edward's own mother, the fierce Isabella, was the daughter of a previous French king, Philip IV, all of whose male descendants had died. By the French laws, Isabella, being a woman, could not inherit

Edward III's quarrels with France.

he crown, and it had passed to a cousin, Philip VI. But dward of England, like his great-grandson Henry V in hakespeare's play of that name, claimed that through sabella he himself was entitled to be king of France.

In this claim he was supported by the people of the Netherlands, southeastward across the Channel from England, who were bound to the island by commercial ties, for ney were clothweavers and used English wool. Hating nd fearing their neighbor France, they allied themselves vith Edward. In the one unfriendly state, Flanders, which vas ruled by a pro-French count, Edward paralyzed industry by cutting off the wool supply, until the middle-lass Flemish burghers, led by one of their own number, Van Arteveld, rose in revolt and joined the English.

As a final spur to Edward, the Netherlands urged him o assume the title of "King of France," for they had deposited with the Pope a pledge which was to be forfeited f they rebelled against the "King of France," and the only vay they could keep their money safe was by giving their nglish ally a new name.

And so, in 1337, Edward III of England solemnly declared himself ruler of France, and war against Philip VI, the Hundred Years' War, began. The struggle, broken by occasional truces, lasted for generations. France had a population ve times as great as England's, but the French numers were balanced by the extremely effective new methods f warfare that the English had learned in Welsh ampaigns. The French nobles, the flower of European hivalry, fighting on horseback like the knights of King rthur, found that only the heaviest armor was proof against

he beginning f the Hundred ears' War, 1337.

English arrows. And the heaviest armor was so unwieldy that the wearers could hardly move.

Crécy and Poitiers.

When the English archers routed the enemy at Crécy, in 1346, they struck a death blow at the old feudal institution of chivalry. Ten years later at Poitiers, under the redoubtable Black Prince, Edward's eldest son, they repeated the stroke. About the same time, the introduction of cannon and gunpowder rendered the old feudal castles useless by smashing their frowning stone battlements to pieces. With the armed knight and the castle both outmoded, the Middle Ages were coming to an end.

One year after Crécy, Edward captured the Channel port of Calais, in northeastern France. Here, as an old chronicler tells the story, the English king commanded the six leading citizens to be brought before him, with halters about their necks; on them he would wreak his vengeance. But the tears of his queen, Phillippa, herself a Lowlander by birth, saved the burghers' lives; and Edward contented himself with establishing an English garrison in the conquered city, Calais, which remained an English military and commercial outpost for the next two centuries.

In the meantime, significant changes were taking place at home in England. Parliament, shaping itself about 1330 into the two houses, of Commons and of Lords, which survive today, was gaining more and more control over the taxes that paid for the king's foreign wars.

Economic developments during the reign of Edward III.

Economic considerations, like those that influenced Edward III in allying himself with the wool-buying Netherlands, were affecting the nation more and more. Trade with the Continent was increasing, and immigrant Flemish

veavers were helping build up in England an important loth industry; naturally, the demand for English wool vas growing rapidly.

Simultaneously, another factor was stimulating sheep- ierding and wool-growing. At the very same time when he victories of Crécy and Poitiers had weakened the top ayer of the old feudal society by demolishing the prestige f the knights and nobles, the laborers and serfs who made ip the lowest stratum were dying like flies from the Black Death, a horrible plague that first swept England in 1348, nd returned at intervals thereafter during three cen- uries. As a result, there was a shortage of agricultural abor. Although Parliament in 1351 tried to meet the ituation by passing the Statute of Laborers, regulating vages, it was impossible for farmers to get their fields roperly tilled, and many proprietors took up instead sheep- aising, which required fewer laborers. To prevent their locks from straying, powerful owners fenced off portions f the open fields which had previously been used by all nen in common; this enclosure of common land was a ractice which lasted for centuries, and which never failed o cause social disturbances.

As the Hundred Years' War settled into its long stride, t too had its direct effects upon English national life. Men who had filled important positions in the army and who were unwilling to retire into private life as nonentities, sserted themselves in domestic politics; military leaders nd nobles increased their power by amassing loot from aptured cities, by supplying hired soldiers to the king on ontract, and often by retaining these mercenaries as private tanding armies. These military heroes and war profiteers

Political developments during the reign of Edward III.

took an active part in Parliament, and added to the power which Parliament itself was constantly extorting from the financially embarrassed king.

To a vigorous Parliamentary group opposing the royal policies the Black Prince lent his support, until in 1376, by a new process called impeachment, Parliament succeeded in bringing one of the king's own ministers to account. In the same year, however, the Black Prince died, leaving as heir to the throne his own boy Richard, grandson of Edward III.

The powerful John of Gaunt, brother to the Black Prince, then gained control of Parliament, and bent the people to their sovereign's will. But even this check interfered only temporarily with Parliament's development. Politically as well as economically England was changing rapidly throughout the Fourteenth Century into a state which would some day be the heart of the British Commonwealth of Nations that we know.

Socially, too, there were great changes afoot. We have already noted the decay of the feudal ideal; even Edward III's founding of the Order of the Garter, an honorary order of knighthood modeled after King Arthur's Round Table, could not set back the clock, or counteract the long-bow and the cannon. Trade, industry, and finance were strengthening the position of the middle classes, which was already buttressed by the well organized gilds.

Social changes during the reign of Edward III.

In addition to the older merchant gilds, there developed the craft gilds of handicraftsmen and artisans, composed of masters, journeymen who worked by the day, and ap-

rentices who paid for their instruction in the craft by vorking for masters. These gilds like the labor unions of oday exerted a powerful influence. Their interests were ot only industrial, but social and religious; they often took ver from the Church the production of religious dramas, uch as those that made up the Chester Miracle Cycle.

Despite the fundamental changes in society, however, a icturesque, medieval element survived. Men still believed n magic, and tried to practice it; and many people dabbled n the pretended science of alchemy, a sort of pseudo-chemstry that purported to transmute baser metals into silver nd gold. Pilgrims thronged the roads to Saint Thomas's omb at Canterbury and to other shrines, and pardoners vandered over the country selling papal "indulgences"—ertificates releasing sinners from some of the penalties for vrongdoing—and exhibiting fantastic religious relics of lubious antecedents, such as saint's teeth, garments of the postles, pieces of St. Peter's sail, and bones of holy sheep.

The many-sided religious life of the age, reflected in the Roman Catholic Church, the monasteries, and the orders of friars, was inevitably absurd and vicious in some of its aspects. Chaucer's Pardoner is not, perhaps, too extreme an xample of the type to be met with on English road r village green; and enlightened sentiment was often bitterly opposed to such parasites. The very letters of the ame of Cain or Caim, first murderer, and ancestor of evil nonsters, were held to signify the four orders of friars: Carmelites, Augustinians, Iacobites (Dominicans), and Minorites (Franciscans).

Religious movements n the Fourteenth Century.

Even the Pope himself, visible head of the whole ecclesiastical organization, was not safe from the attacks of spirited liberals like John Wyclif. The Papacy, completely dominated by the French during its Babylonian Captivity, was hateful to many independent Englishmen; and Wyclif, who began by attacking the payment of tribute to the Church of Rome, went on to deny the authority of the Pope, to criticise the practice of confession of sins to a priest, and to reject the doctrine of transubstantiation, the belief that the bread and wine used in the mass or communion service become the very body and blood of Christ Himself.

This great English forerunner of the Protestant Reformation, supported for political reasons by John of Gaunt, inspired poor preachers, "Lollards," to roam the countryside advocating a simple, sincere church of the people; and in order to make true religion more accessible to the man in the street he himself supervised the first translation of the Bible into English.

For the native tongue had at last established itself in English life and literature. As early as 1350, the schools began to use the language of the people; and twelve years later the law courts officially followed suit. At the same time, great English poetry sprang once more into life. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* a legend of King Arthur's court found beautiful and permanent life; and the mysterious and allegorical *Pearl,* written perhaps by the unknown author of *Gawain,* can still delight readers as well as mystify scholars.

English language and literature in the Fourteenth Century.

An odd assortment of more vivid, contemporary materials went into the rugged lines of the *Piers the Plowman,* often ascribed to one William Langland. Here we see the manners of Fourteenth Century London reflected in English verse; and the follies and crimes of Church and Court are pilloried for our contempt.

But the greatest literature of the age is the product of the pen of Geoffrey Chaucer. A Londoner by birth, an experienced diplomat and man of affairs, Chaucer through wide reading and travel assimilated the rich culture of France, and of Italy, where Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio had all contributed to the glory of the Fourteenth Century. Writing in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, he was befriended and patronized by the great John of Gaunt, and wrote for him *The Book of the Duchess* as a tribute to his deceased first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. Chaucer first introduced into England the refinements of Continental poetry; and then, turning his shrewd, kindly, observant eyes on the life about him, he immortalized Fourteenth Century England in his *Canterbury Tales.* His manuscript poems, copied by hand and distributed among his friends—for printing was still unknown—did more than any other single agency to establish the London dialect in which they were written as the medium for English literature. Chaucer survived until 1400 to write his last and greatest work, *The Canterbury Tales.* This was not, however, a product of the reign of Edward III, for Edward had died in 1377, to be succeeded by his grandson Richard II, son of the deceased Black Prince.

With the death of Edward III, ending his mighty reign

of fifty years, there begins a new era in English history.

The quarrels of the successors of Edward III during the Fifteenth Century.

During the following century the crown of England was bandied about among three great families, Plantagenet, Lancaster, and York. Half a dozen different men took a hand at ruling, while the exact relationship between the king and the State remained unsettled. Different kings tried different methods of ruling; first of all Richard II, the last Plantagenet, attempted a weak personal government, which ended in his deposition. He was followed by three Lancastrians, Henry IV, V, and VI, who made the mistake of giving to Parliament and people too great a share in running the State. Next the Yorkist kings seized the throne and tried out a policy of savage tyranny too oppressive for the nation to bear. Finally in 1485 the claims of Lancaster and York were united in Henry Tudor and his wife, and in this first Tudor king, Henry VII, England at last found a monarch whose regal aims harmonized with the needs of the State.

All during the century of civil strife preceding the accession of the Tudors, the great noble families and the antiquated feudal lords were tangled in plots and domestic wars. York and Lancaster were busy cutting each other's throats, and in so doing they were only hastening the inevitable downfall of the dying feudal order. England was becoming a modern state, no longer as in earlier days to be the plaything of rival nobles. A new middle class was arising and going about its business in sober earnest, and regular development was taking place in various fields of national activity despite the quarrels of

The state of the English nation during the Fifteenth Century.

he barons. Parliament and the people were gradually gaining a new power and a new sense of responsibility; England was exerting its sway over Scotland and Wales; war with France was being fought.

Popular and Parliamentary progress.

Edward III had only been dead four years, and the new king Richard II, destined to be the hero of one of Shakespeare's most interesting historical plays, was still a mere boy, when in 1381 a great body of poor and discontented Englishmen rose against the government in armed rebellion, in the "Peasant Revolt." Spurred on by a fiery priest, John Ball, the rebels marched against London under the leadership of Wat Tyler, about whom the young and still unregenerate poet Southey wrote his revolutionary drama four centuries later. With unparalleled courage and tact, the boy king faced the insurgents, and held them off by fair speeches until his army was in a position to crush their power. The revolt had few immediate results, aside from frightening off the supporters of such moderate progressives as John Wyclif. But it did serve to strengthen the spirit of popular and Parliamentary opposition to the king.

During the next reign the strict laws passed against religious heretics and the Lollards, Wyclif's preachers, showed that the English government was not yet ready to repudiate the Church of Rome. The burning at the stake of Sir John Oldcastle, a noble Lollard, a few years later, marked the end of Lollardry as a political and social force; but heresy revived with fourfold strength in the following century. Parliament had made a step forward by establishing the principle that the people's grievances were to be redressed before any money was supplied to the

king; moreover the principle was carried into effect by waiting until the very last day of the session before voting on taxes. But Parliament was due to fall back into a very much weaker state under York, Tudor, and Stuart kings before England's constitutional form of government was permanently established.

A generation later, under the last Lancastrian king, Henry VI, the discontent of the lower classes against the French war, unsatisfactory domestic conditions, and reactionary laws, finally came to a head in the brief popular rebellion under Jack Cade, 1450.

Scotland and Wales continued at intervals to give trouble to the English government. In 1388 one of the greatest of the English nobles, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, fought the Scotch at Otterburn, and provided the subject for the magnificent ballad of *Chevy Chase* or *The Hunting of the Cheviot*. In the year 1400 a hot-headed Welshman with a reputation for magic, Owen Glendower, began a series of troublesome rebellions in Wales; and two years later Percy, with his valiant son "Hotspur," joined the Welsh in open revolt against the English king. In the battle of Shrewsbury, 1413, this rebellion was finally crushed.

Scotland and Wales.

After the death of Edward III, the English had temporarily lost interest in the war against France which he had inaugurated. Domestic unrest distracted England for a third of a century, until a young and heroic king mounted the throne. When this Henry V had the sceptre in his own hands, one of his first steps was the reopening of hostilities against France, reviving the languishing Hun-

The continuation of the Hundred Years' War against France.

red Years' War. Henry's probable motives—the uni-
cation of England in a common enterprise, the recovery
f English prestige, and the regaining of former English
ossessions across the Channel—were at least in part
raiseworthy. Reviving the claim of his great-grand-
ather Edward III to the crown of France itself, Henry
egan his invasion, after summarily disposing of a group
f English traitors on the eve of his departure. At first
ne English aims were successful—the king himself was
magnificent leader: "Once more unto the breach, dear
riends!" France was for a time distracted by the insanity
f her new king, Charles VI, and by the conflicts between
ne two factions of Orléans and Burgundy.

In 1415 English archers at Agincourt repeated the tri-
mphant struggles against overwhelming odds that had
made them victors over feudal chivalry at Crécy
and Poitiers; it was this battle that was cele-
rated in Drayton's ballad, *Agincourt,* two centuries later.
n 1420 Charles VI of France, in a lucid interval, made
Henry V heir to the French throne, and gave him his
wn daughter Katherine in marriage.

gincourt.

But Charles's son, the Dauphin Charles, kept up French
esistance, and later gained for his support one of the
ost miraculous figures in all history, Joan of Arc. Henry
himself, the heart of the English offensive, died in 1422,
xhausted by his impassioned efforts to master France.
He left behind him as successor to the English throne an
fant son Henry VI, whose incapabilities eventually re-
ulted in the expulsion of the English from France. In
422 poor mad Charles VI of France died, shortly after
nglish Henry V. The Orléans faction proclaimed the

dauphin king of France as Charles VII, against the claims of little Henry VI of England and his Burgundian supporters. The worm was on the point of turning; the decades of English interference had begun at last to arouse the pride and love of Frenchmen for their own nation.

When in 1429 the English were besieging the town of Orléans, the chief stronghold supporting Charles VII,

Joan of Arc.

Joan of Arc, a peasant girl believing herself called by God to save her country, led the loyal French soldiers to a series of amazing victories. To be sure, in 1431 Joan was captured by the hostile Burgundians, sold to their English allies, and burned. But the French were on the road to victory at last; the English continued steadily to lose ground, particularly after the Burgundians went over to the support of the native French king, until in 1453, the very year when the Christian Roman Empire of the East fell before the Turks at Constantinople, the English were driven out of all France except their own stronghold of Calais. The Hundred Years' War was ended.

While the English people were gradually becoming aware of their own strength at home, and were learning the painful necessity of leaving France alone, England itself was the scene of a complicated series of civil wars. Were it not for the fact that Shakespeare used these wars as background for some of his great historical plays, we might ignore them and remember only that a century of domestic strife finally accomplished the downfall of the old feudal aristocracy and gave England peace and a Tudor king.

The civil struggles of Plantagenet, Lancaster, and York, 1377-1485.

But in order to understand Shakespeare's *Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI,* and *Richard III,* we must

ave some knowledge of the civil struggles in which the kings appearing in those plays were involved.

ichard II, 77-1399.

When Edward III died in 1377, his grand- on Richard II, the last of the Plantagenets, inherited the irone. The new king was from the beginning handi- ipped by his youth and by his vacillating temperament. s he grew older, in spite of occasional spasms of good ile, he proved to be an ineffective monarch; the desultory mpaigns in France, mostly unsuccessful, encouraged dis- ontent at home; and the powerful nobles, as in the days of imon de Montfort, tried to make a tool of the king or se opposed him openly, though for their own interests ther than for the sake of the people.

The opposition found a leader in the king's uncle John f Gaunt, the most influential man in England. By his rst marriage he had made himself head of the House f Lancaster, from which three kings were to be born; y his second he gave kings and queens to Castile and a oyal patroness to Christopher Columbus; by his third he tablished the House of Beaufort and transmitted his lood to the Tudor sovereigns, even to Queen Elizabeth erself. With such a man at its head, the popular party axed powerful, until in 1388 a group of nobles in Parlia- ent, known as the "Lords Appellant," secured the im- eachment and conviction of several of the king's ministers nd favorites.

A year later Richard struck back at Parliament; moder- ely at first. But as time passed, the king's moderation ave place to violent folly. His uncle Thomas, Duke of loucester, he put out of the way; his cousin Henry (often lled Bolingbroke from his place of birth, and sometimes

Hereford), son and heir of John of Gaunt, he exiled on the pretext of a pending duel; and when the broken John died, the king seized for himself the enormous estates of Lancaster.

This was the last straw. The young exile Henry, now Duke of Lancaster, waited only until the king had departed for Ireland to strengthen England's position in the "Pale," the portion of the neighboring island which the English controlled. Then with a small following Henry of Lancaster landed in England. Half the nation rose to support him, and Richard, hastening home, found himself powerless. The beaten king was forced to abdicate, in 1399, and Parliament voted that he should be deposed. A few months later he was dead.

Henry in the meantime had claimed the crown for himself. To be sure, he was not the nearest lineal heir; the next king should have been Henry's cousin Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who was descended through an elder brother of John of Gaunt from Edward III. But Henry was powerful and popular, and Parliament declared him king as Henry IV. Thus it was that the House of Lancaster came to the throne of England; a rival house, York, likewise descended from Edward III, and connected by marriage with Edmund of March, survived like Lancaster to supply three kings during the next century and to entertain posterity with the spectacle of two great families snarling and snapping like jealous terriers over the crown of England.

Henry IV, 1399-1413.

The crown that Henry of Bolingbroke snatched from his cousin Richard II rested uneasily on his own head. For one thing, the Parliament which had so lightly bestowed it

upon him might as lightly take it away. Then too, from the portrait Shakespeare has left of him we can surmise that the new king's conscience was tormented by the thought of the treatment he had accorded his predecessor. And some of the powerful nobles who had helped him to the throne began, early in his reign, to do all in their power to help him off.

The rebellion of the Percys.

Henry IV's chief enemies among the nobles were the two Percys, father and son, who had participated in the "Hunting of the Cheviot" fifteen years previously, had later aided Henry in his bold stroke for the crown, and had been richly rewarded by the guardianship of the Scotch and Welsh borders. Having won a victory over the Scotch, the noble pair quarreled with Henry over the disposition of the spoils, for they were too proud and headstrong to submit to a king whom they had helped to make. Attracting to their party Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, the nearest lineal heir of the deposed Richard II, they allied themselves with the Welsh rebel Glendower against Henry. In the battle of Shrewsbury, 1413, the king crushed the rebels, and Hotspur was killed. In spite of the failure of this rising, however, similar troubles beset Henry throughout his reign.

To torment the soul of the aging usurper ever further, his own son and heir, Henry, better known as Prince Hal, an impulsive and irresponsible youth, became impatient to try his own hand at ruling England. When Henry IV finally died, in 1413, it was with the knowledge that no one regretted his passing.

Prince Hal came to the throne in 1413 as Henry V, Shakespeare's "hero king." He was, in fact, stronger and

finer as man and king than he had been as boy and prince. But his reign was not a particularly good one, except for the magnificent victory of Agincourt.

Henry V, 1413-1422.

He died in 1422, leaving as heir a baby boy, Henry VI, who was destined to plunge the nation in civil war that drove his own family of Lancaster from the throne. Henry VI attained to manhood, and like several of his predecessors this sweet but ineffective young king married a hot-tempered, masculine French princess. This queen, Margaret of Anjou, soon after her wedding in 1444, allied herself with the faction in the court that supported, or rather controlled, the king.

Henry VI, 1422-1461.

Among the nobles, the opposition to the king centered in Richard, Duke of York. This Richard, nephew of the Edmund of March who might have succeeded Richard II, distant cousin of the king himself, and representative of two noble houses derived from Edward III, wished to be declared heir to the childless king. Tradition tells us that he set his emblem, the white rose of York, against the legendary red rose of the king's family, Lancaster. (As a matter of fact, the red rose was not actually adopted as an emblem till a quarter of a century later, when another Henry, Henry Tudor, finally defeated the Yorkists at Bosworth.) These two roses later gave the name "Wars of the Roses" to the civil feuds between the families of York and Lancaster that began with Richard of York's claim to succeed Henry VI of Lancaster.

The Wars of the Roses.

The first crisis came in 1453, the same eventful year when Constantinople fell and the English were driven from France. While Henry VI was temporarily out of his

mind, a son and heir, Edward, was born to him, and Richard of York was declared Regent of England. Two years later Henry, having recovered his reason, ousted Richard, who broke into armed rebellion, killing Somerset, the king's mainstay, in a street fight at St. Albans, and inaugurating thirty years of civil war.

The bold queen, Margaret of Anjou, now assumed control of the royal party. The desultory strife continued, until in 1460 Richard of York fell in battle. His son Edward succeeded him as claimant to the throne.

Warwick, the King-maker.

Edward's greatest strength lay in the powerful Earl of Warwick, his faithful supporter. This Warwick, the "King-maker" (we shall soon see the reasons for the title!), is a romantic figure in English history—the last of those great barons who with their own power and ingenuity, aided by a private army of armed followers, precipitated the events and controlled the destinies of English history. In 1461 Warwick and Edward marched into London, while the king and queen were campaigning in the field. The people, more disgusted than ever with the slack Lancastrian reign that had tried to help the nation to self-government, arose in support of the new claimant; and Edward by mere right of being on the ground with an army of retainers and a show of popular approval, ascended the throne as King Edward IV of England. The white rose of York had at last climbed to the top of the garden wall.

Edward IV, 1461-1483.

But the top of the garden wall is a ticklish position. The way of the usurper is hard, and Edward of York, like Henry IV, found that the same powerful nobles who had put him on the throne showed

unmistakable signs of wanting to put him off again. At last in 1470 came the open break between the new king and Warwick, who patched up an agreement with Margaret of Anjou, queen of the ousted Henry VI, and drove Edward out of the country.

The Lancastrian king, a pathetic pawn in Warwick's masterly fingers, was released from imprisonment in the Tower of London. But the second blooming of the red rose of Lancaster was brief. Edward of York, in the year following his expulsion, returned with Burgundian aid; and after a minor victory in which he slew Warwick, he crushed the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury, captured Margaret of Anjou, killed her son Prince Edward (the Lancastrian heir), and entered London triumphantly, where by murder he put an end to the tragic life of Henry VI.

With King-maker and rival kings thus disposed of, Edward of York enjoyed twelve years of uninterrupted power. Ruling with a heavy hand, he kept the country in some sort of order, built up his own private fortune, and enjoyed life thoroughly. The chief thorns in his side were his two brothers, the Duke of Clarence and Richard of Gloucester—the former an annoying rival, and the latter a suave and deformed schemer, "crookbacked."

Gloucester, working undoubtedly for his own ends, procured the conviction of Clarence for treason; Clarence was imprisoned in the Tower, and according to legend was finally drowned in a large barrel of Malmsey wine. This crime left King Edward's two little sons as the only obstacles between Richard and his brother's crown. When Edward IV died in 1483, Gloucester made short work of these obstacles by getting himself proclaimed

Edward V, 1483.

Protector. For a few weeks in 1483, the elder little prince reigned nominally as Edward V. But the diabolical Uncle Gloucester had lodged the two boys in the Tower for safe keeping. An impromptu assembly which he controlled proclaimed him King Richard III, and a few days later the Princes in the Tower disappeared from human knowledge.

So Gloucester was king at last. But he had paid a ghastly price for his crown. Warwick was dead, Henry VI and his son were dead, Clarence was dead, Edward IV was dead, and the two little princes were dead—and in almost every one of these deaths Richard quite likely had had a guiding hand. With scheming and cruelty he had won the throne; with scheming and cruelty he tried to keep it, flattering and bribing the people, murdering his opponents. No one trusted the bloody hand. After a brief reign of two years, he found his country rising against him under the leadership of Henry Tudor. This Tudor, a great-great-grandson of John of Gaunt through his mother's family, the Beauforts, was now the heir of the House of Lancaster, and to his standard rallied old Lancastrian supporters and other discontented subjects of Richard III. At the battle of Bosworth in 1485 Richard, crying vainly, as Shakespeare tells us, for a horse on which he might ride to victory, was defeated and slain. The victorious Henry Tudor was crowned king as Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses were at last ended, and a new and mighty dynasty had mounted the throne of England.

Richard III, 1483-1485.

The eighty-six years of Lancastrian and Yorkist rule seem to form a black page in English history. During most of

them England was waging an unjustifiable and unsuccessful foreign war. Civil strifes, treasons, and crimes flourished; the spiritual and cultural life of the nation seemed almost destroyed; the darkest shadows of medievalism once more threatened English civilization.

The state of the English nation during the Wars of the Roses.

But, as a matter of fact, in places remote from the fields of battle, and among ranks of society uninterested in dynastic wars, conditions do not seem to have been particularly bad. Agriculture and industry thrived, in spite of the Wars of the Roses; and the average Englishman seems to have enjoyed a fair degree of wealth, health, and happiness. The Wars of the Roses were fought among the members of a dying feudal society. The new, middle-class, industrial society which was displacing the other was hardly affected at all.

Moreover, as we look back on this apparently tragic period, we can see that it was only temporary; and that it was caused, perhaps, by the inevitable failure of a generous experiment for which the country was not yet ready. The early Lancastrians had tried to rule with Parliament, to give the people a hand in their own government. But the people were not yet capable of taking care of themselves, and under the weak Henry VI the government fell to pieces.

Then came the Yorkist kings, who went to the other extreme, degrading Parliament and attempting to rule by personal tyranny. But England had at least learned not to tolerate such despotism, and the House of York was overthrown.

What the country now needed and wanted was a firm

autocrat who could enforce peace and encourage prosperity until the people were ready to assume their share in the responsibility of government. And this is exactly what the country got, in its Tudor king.

English literature during the Wars of the Roses.

Two other great and permanent acquisitions were gained by England during the troublous days of Edward IV. Sir Thomas Malory collected, translated, and unified the legends of King Arthur's court into a prose masterpiece, the *Morte d'Arthur,* which has served as a great storehouse of Arthurian materials for writers ever since. And William Caxton introduced into England the new German art of printing from movable type. He printed books written in the same dialect as that Chaucer had used, and he distributed them widely throughout England. The language which on the tongues of men and in perishable manuscripts had been changing rapidly was suddenly by means of the printed book crystallized in a stable and universally accessible form. The necessary tools were at last prepared for our Spensers and Shakespeares and their readers.

And after a century of Tudor order and prosperity, the writers and their public were to emerge in the glorious Elizabethan culture.

MAP III

THE BRITISH ISLES DURING THE RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION, AND REVOLUTION

CHAPTER V

ENGLAND UNDER THE EARLY TUDORS

(1485-1558)

"O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!
And let their heirs, God, if thy will be so,
Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd Peace,
With smiling Plenty and fair prosperous days."

SHAKESPEARE, *Richard the Third.*

With Henry, Earl of Richmond, the Tudor family ounted the English throne in 1485. The Tudors were

ıe Tudor nily.

Welshmen, but there were qualities in their blood which harmonized peculiarly well with the needs Fifteenth Century England. Personal bravery, keen olitical sense, firmness of purpose, a sort of casual aptitude r getting things done, and a something strangely glitter- g that appealed to the popular imagination—these gifts n in the family; and they helped to make successful solute monarchs at a time when England needed—almost anted—absolutism.

Looking back on the late Fifteenth Century, we now can e that it was a moment of suspense, of poise, before the fundamental changes of the succeeding era. The distractions of foreign and civil wars had come to an end. The old ruling sses had been depleted in numbers by their feuds, and

gland at the d of the teenth Century.

were rapidly losing their position, because of their inability to keep up with changing social and economic conditions. In Parliament the middle classes, weary of profitless strife and eager only for peace and prosperity, were willing to let a wise, strong monarch guide them as he saw fit. Agriculture, industry, and commerce were adjusting themselves to new bases. Mariners were plowing new seas with their oaken keels. The sleeping wisdom and beauty of ancient cultures were awakening and sending their intoxicating influences northward across Europe. And the strongholds of conservatism, the Church and the universities, were trembling before the eager intellectual curiosity and the love of life that thrilled the bosoms of an oncoming generation. As in another, later dawn, bliss was it to be alive, and it was very bliss to be Henry Tudor, the young and victorious claimant to the English crown.

A direct descendant of Edward III and distant cousin of the late King Richard, Henry VII was faced with the immediate necessity of strengthening his own position. This he did by getting Parliament to pass acts recognizing the rights of himself and his family to the crown; by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV and representative of the Yorkist line; and by securing a bull or edict from the Pope to bolster up his throne.

The accession of Henry VII, 1485.

Opposition to the House of Tudor centered about two Yorkist pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. Simnel, offspring of an Oxford organ maker, posed as the son of the Duke of Clarence; when his body of supporters was defeated, he himself was not considered important

ough to be worth hanging, but was set to work turning a
t in the royal kitchens. Warbeck, the subject of a play
itten by Ford a century later, was a more troublesome
al; his rôle was that of Richard, the younger of the
inces in the Tower. He was supported for a time by
anders; but Henry VII, who had a taste for up-to-date
ethods, frightened off the Flemings by placing an em-
rgo on their trade; and when Warbeck fell into his hands,
ally had him executed.

Henry further established his family by a series of
nastic marriages, which served incidentally to involve
his descendants in Continental politics. Sev-
eral of the monarchs of Europe, viewing
th distrust the growth of French power, had felt the need
banding together against France. With this end in
w, King Ferdinand of Spain had in 1496 married his
ughter to the son of Emperor Maximilian Hapsburg, the
ad of the Holy Roman Empire, which was a confedera-
n of German and Austrian rulers that inherited the
ditions of the great Charlemagne.

dor mar-
ge alliances.

Five years later England joined the Spanish-Hapsburg
iance by the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, to the
anish princess Catharine of Aragon. And when Arthur
d, by a special papal dispensation Catharine was passed
to a younger brother Henry, and thus gained the honor
becoming the first of Henry VIII's six wives, and the
ther of an English queen, "Bloody" Mary Tudor.

Henry VII completed his match-making policy by wed-
ig his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland,
reby giving the royal Scottish family of Stuart an interest

in the English crown which complicated island politics for the next two and a half centuries.

Political, social, and economic changes under Henry VII.

Marriage alliances, however, were not the only means adopted by Henry to strengthen his house; by a vigorous financial policy he amassed a large family fortune. And his shrewd, business-like methods, when applied to fiscal problems of the State, helped to make him independent of Parliament's grants. Little by little the affairs of the nation were turned over to the king's own council, while Parliament sat idle. And the king devised a new and potent agent of his own will in the Court of Star Chamber, a body which was created primarily as a swift, effective means of quelling disorder, and which survived as a tyrannical weapon till the mid-Seventeenth Century.

During this first Tudor reign the social and economic pattern of the nation was steadily changing. The members of the old nobility found little employment for their genius when there were no more wars for them to fight in. Many of them were unwilling or unable to apply their talents in politics or trade, and their place in the national life was gradually taken by the new captains of industry and the political leaders who brought fresh blood and brains to the service of their king and were rewarded by his favor.

And there were equally fundamental changes in other ranks of society. As the demand for wool increased and farm soil grew poorer and poorer, sheep-raising became constantly more prevalent. But the population was once more increasing, as the effects of war and plague wore off, and sheep-raising required so little labor that unemploy-

ent became a serious problem. The difficulty was partly ved by the rise of the "domestic system" of home manu- ture. The wool merchants, disgusted with the conserva- e methods of the exclusive gilds of handicraftsmen, sent ir wool to farmers and villagers for spinning and weav- . By this practice, the cloth industry was stimulated, moribund gilds were pushed a little farther in their line, and field laborers out of a job were kept busy.

n the handling of external problems, too, new prin- les were being developed. In supporting the other Conti- ntal nations against over-powerful France, Henry seemed be working toward the idea of keeping his rivals evenly anced, never allowing any one nation or faction to gain dominant a position. And at the same time by help- Englishmen to assume control of trade, protecting ne industries, fostering an embryo merchant marine, l trying to keep the total of exported goods ahead of orts (in order to increase the nation's wealth in *gold*), king was aiding in the establishment of the "mercantile em" which formed the basis of European economics for turies.

n all these aspects of the national life, Henry VII was ing to make of England a modern state, and to enrich, h power and prosperity, the fertile field in which the ious Elizabethan spirit was to bloom.

ut the most essential, the most stimulating changes of were the ones in which the king had little or no hand.

issance. All of western Europe was pulsing with a new life springing from a hundred sources. A ion for travel and trade that originated at least as early he Crusades; an interest in Greek and Roman culture,

stimulated by the influx of refugee scholars from Constantinople, which yielded to the Turks in 1453; an enthusiasm for man and his life and works; a splendid, courageous eagerness in the pursuit of wisdom and loveliness; an awakening; a re-birth—this was the Renaissance!—and all the kings of Christendom with all the kings' horses and all the kings' men were powerless either to aid or to hinder it.

The seventh year of Henry's reign had seen Christopher Columbus discover his new continent, under the patronage of the Castilian Isabella, whose daughter was to marry Henry's son, and who was herself descended from Henry's own ancestor, John of Gaunt. Three years later the English king himself was encouraging John Cabot's explorations, and England's sea power and American empire were born.

Simultaneously English scholars like Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet, were bringing from Italy an enthusiasm for the new learning of the Renaissance and an interest in literature and art, in science, and in religion, that were to reach their climax in such achievements as those of the astronomer Copernicus or the Protestant reformer Martin Luther. Among other things these English scholars encouraged the study of Greek at Oxford, with the aim of understanding more clearly the true character of the Catholic Church which they loved and wished to purge of abuses. Little did they guess that the very spirit which inspired them was destined to aid in overthrowing that Church in England.

Associated with these Englishmen was the Dutch scholar Erasmus, the story of whose parents Charles Reade has imagined so vividly in *The Cloister and the Hearth*. Com-

g to England in the late years of the reign of Henry VII, asmus prepared an edition of the New Testament nich served as a basis for the English translation a gen- ation later. And, in turning the gleaming arrows of his t against the vices and abuses of church administration, helped prepare the way for the English Reformation. Such were some of the great men of the first Tudor gn; such were their accomplishments. And when in 09 the first Tudor reign ended with the death of Henry I, all England was poised for the epoch-making steps at were to change its whole history, and to make its next ntury one of the most glorious that any nation has ever own.

Henry VIII, second son and surviving heir of Henry I, was barely eighteen years old when he came to the throne. A handsome, gifted youth, richly endowed with the Tudor impetuousness and charm, he saw his reign as a magnificent me, and he played that game magnificently for forty ars.

e accession Henry VIII, 09.

The years were from the first momentous in world story. While the new king was still in his youth, Martin uther began his attacks on the Pope. Zwingli, too, in vitzerland, was preaching new doctrines; and in Eng- nd the idea of church reform was being spread by speeches d printed pamphlets. Of the new currents of thought enry VIII was well aware, and he busied himself gain- g the intimate friendship of the greatest men of his day. homas More, the brilliant Oxford scholar who had en- ed public life, and whose Latin *Utopia* (1516) depicted ideal state far different from the one in which he lived,

became a close friend of Henry, later served him as Lord Chancellor, and finally died on the block for his refusal to yield his conscience into the king's keeping. Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, Cardinal, and More's predecessor as Lord Chancellor, one of England's most brilliant churchmen, was early intimately associated in Henry's councils. The whole situation centering in cardinal and king reminds us inevitably of the relationship between Becket and Henry II; and its outcome, if less spectacular, is little less tragic than the murder at the high altar of Canterbury.

It was this Wolsey who was the chief guide of Henry's foreign policy. The perennial Scottish menace had been temporarily crushed by the defeat and slaughter of James IV at Flodden Field (1513), and England's chief worry was to preserve the balance of power between a new French king, Francis I, and a new Hapsburg emperor, Charles V, who had inherited the Spanish crown from his grandfather Ferdinand.

The foreign policy of Henry VIII.

England naturally favored the emperor, for he was the nephew of Henry's first queen, Catharine of Aragon; he controlled the Netherlands, England's wool market; he might boost Wolsey into the Papacy; and France was a traditional enemy. But Charles was dangerously strong, and the balance of power must be preserved; so Henry VIII kept each of the other monarchs at arm's length as long as possible, and flirted with a French alliance in a magnificent diplomatic pageant held in France, the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in 1520. In spite of this, when war broke out between France and the emperor, Henry took the field as the emperor's ally. Only too soon, however,

e had run up war debts that the English people stub-
ornly refused to pay, and a truce with France was ar-
nged.

This, then, was the general situation when a new ques-
on, that of Henry's divorce, came to a head and precipi-
tated the major event of Henry's reign, his break with the Church of Rome. In his salad ays, Henry had been a dutiful enough son of Mother hurch; in fact, in 1521, there had appeared over his name pro-papal *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* against uther, which earned for English kings the proudly cher-ned title of "Defender of the Faith" and in which the yal apologist may have had an actual hand. But all this as changed when Henry began longing for a new wife. is conscience, which had always pricked him for taking vantage of the papal dispensation to marry his brother's dow, Catharine of Aragon, began to cause acute pain nen, despite the need for a male heir, only a female child rvived as a product of this union. And when Henry had ccumbed to the charms of a new maid-of-honor, Anne leyn, the pangs of conscience became really unbearable, d the king finally decided that he must give up Queen tharine.

Henry VIII's divorce.

The Pope, who had power to annul the royal marriage, w found himself in a difficult dilemma; for Catharine d not wish to be put aside, and Catharine was the aunt the potent Emperor Charles V. When Henry VIII at-npted to have the affair settled before Wolsey and an-ner cardinal, Campeggio, in England, the Pope called e case to Rome. Henry thereupon took matters into his

own hands; venting his disappointment upon Wolsey, he ousted the Chancellor, who died the following year (1530); and then Henry proceeded to take the necessary steps to negative the Pope's authority and make himself head of the Church in England; the divorce must be had at all costs.

The story of those necessary steps and of the other inevitable steps that followed until the Church of England had become for all practical purposes a Protestant one, is long and complicated; and before we enter upon it we had best dispose briefly of Henry's colorful marital history. In 1533 Catharine of Aragon was at last divorced, and was succeeded as wife and queen by Anne Boleyn. Anne bore a daughter, Elizabeth, who became *the* Elizabeth of England. But Anne bore no sons, and her charms faded. Three short years brought her under the headsman's ax on the charge of infidelity. And a year later the third wife, Jane Seymour, had borne her son Edward and died. The king's next marriage, to a German princess, Anne of Cleves, was a purely political affair arranged by Henry's Vicegerent Cromwell with the aid of a flattering portrait. When the original at last presented herself before Henry, "he became very sorrowful and amazed" and turned away "very sad and pensive." It was too late to withdraw; but Henry relieved his feelings by beheading Cromwell, and a year later the marriage with Anne of Cleves was annulled. The fifth wife, Catharine Howard, suffered a fate like Anne Boleyn's; and the sixth and last, Catharine Parr, had her foolhardy courage rewarded by seeing Henry himself laid in the grave.

These last events, however, did not occur until fifteen

years after Henry's first steps toward winning his divorce through ecclesiastical independence; and to the story of that struggle for ecclesiastical independence we must now return.

In order fully to understand the English Reformation, we must bear in mind the peculiar combination of circumstances out of which it developed. The English people, temperamentally, were not always completely sympathetic with Roman Catholicism. Perhaps the mystery and pageantry that had developed under southern and eastern skies ill suited the colder Anglo-Norman blood; and there were undoubtedly other causes too for the bold reform spirit that had flared up in English Wyclif's breast almost two centuries before the times with which we are now dealing.

The conditions leading up to the English Reformation.

England's geographic and political isolation had kept her comparatively aloof from the influence of the great papal organization. The Papacy itself at this time was not particularly strong. The disastrous effects of the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism had not yet worn off, and a succession of pontiffs too subservient to neighboring monarchs had not strengthened the international prestige of the successor of Saint Peter. There was unquestionably need for a reform in the Church of Rome. And in England, where the abuses and the corruption in ecclesiastical affairs (graft, bribery, and sale of ecclesiastical honors) were probably as shocking as they were anywhere, there remained plenty of the Wyclifite and Lollard spirit to attack them.

Moreover, as we have seen, the English people were politi-

cally in a docile frame of mind, ready to follow the lead of a powerful and popular king. The nation, too, was prosperous; it was aware of its vigorously expanding influence, and eager to assert its proud independence. And the Renaissance spirit of eager curiosity and bold revolt, that was astir in every corner of western Europe, had not passed England by. On the contrary, the Renaissance spirit was in England surging forward towards the climax of its expression; and the spirit of church reform was advancing with it.

At this strategic moment, a strong and influential king stepped to the center of the stage, with his heart set on a divorce. And the only possible avenue to that divorce led by way of a complete overthrow of papal supremacy. Henry thereupon proceeded to accomplish that overthrow.

Wolsey, having failed to serve the royal purpose, was in 1529 cast aside to die. The king, looking about for allies, summoned a new Parliament, the "Reformation Parliament," to further his schemes. With Sir Thomas More as Chancellor, Henry found two other valuable counselors—Thomas Cranmer, whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell, who was for years the Crown's most valuable adviser, until he lost his head for arranging the ill-fated match with Anne of Cleves.

The English Reformation.

In the course of the next half decade, aided by his potent counselors, Henry coerced both Parliament and Convocation (the body of church leaders) to declare in his favor. Catharine was "divorced" willy-nilly, and officially deposed by Cranmer. Then Parliament abolished papal authority in England and, in 1534, announced that Henry

himself was supreme head of the Church in England. By these tactics the independence of the English Church was definitely established. But they were too violent for some loyal Catholics to abide, and in the following year good Sir Thomas More lost his head for refusing to repudiate the Pope.

Henry's first steps had brought about drastic changes; his next steps had the effect of making those changes permanent. He began to dissolve the monasteries, as a way of killing off their opposition to his reforms and laying hands on their great wealth. The king then distributed a large proportion of the monastic property in countless small holdings among middle-class Englishmen; nothing could have served so well to reconcile his subjects to the Reformation!

At the same time, Convocation strengthened the ecclesiastical reform by passing certain doctrinal changes. Henry was opposed to letting his new plaything, his "Church of England," become too Protestant as far as its religion was concerned, and under his guidance Convocation made it into a sort of compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism—abolishing images and pilgrimages, for instance, but retaining certain Catholic dogmas which were reaffirmed with capital penalties in the "Six Articles" three years later.

Of course this was not accomplished without some opposition—notably in the case of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," an unsuccessful northern insurrection against the Protestant innovations. But even so, and despite the fact that the reign of Queen Mary saw a temporary reaction, the English Reformation was effected with astounding neatness

and dispatch. In one short decade after the divorce case brought the issue to a head, the Catholic Church in England had undergone fundamental changes in its economic, political, and religious character. Among many important results of this revolution not the least important was the publication of the Great Bible, a magnificent English translation that made use of the earlier studies of Erasmus, and in which one William Tyndale, as well as Archbishop Cranmer, took a major part.

Little remains to be chronicled of the reign of Henry VIII. Despite the temporary settlement of the religious question, his last years did not pass in peace. For one thing, his marital difficulties continued. For another, there were foreign wars—with Scotland, culminating in the battle of Solway Moss, where the young Scottish King James V suffered a defeat that broke his heart a few weeks later and left his infant daughter, Mary Stuart, heir to the Scottish throne. Mary inevitably came under French influence; Henry VIII moreover had a brief war of his own with France; and he attempted to strengthen his sway over Ireland, where the violent arm of his political and religious system aroused among the lower classes resentment that has never ceased smoldering. In the neighboring principality of Wales, however, the English king, himself of Welsh ancestry, found his policies unusually successful. By an act of Parliament he incorporated the whole of Wales into the English political system, giving the Welsh their own representatives in Parliament; and ever since, Wales has functioned smoothly as an integral part of England.

The last years of Henry VIII.

One of Henry's final acts before his death in 1547 was

the execution of the Earl of Surrey for treason. Surrey spent his last days in prison translating part of the *Æneid* into blank verse, and thereby introducing into English a verse form which was to render unparalleled service half a century later. This, however, was not Surrey's first contribution of the kind; twenty years earlier he had been associated with Sir Thomas Wyatt in enriching English poetry by the introduction of polished Continental forms, notably the sonnet, though none of his work was published till after his death.

We must not let our last memories of Henry VIII be those of a Bluebeard, a monastery burner, or a murderer of poets. For English literature began its phenomenal leap into preëminence under this king who was not himself insensible to scholarship and culture; one charming Sixteenth Century writer, Roger Ascham, the "Scholemaster," was in fact selected by the king himself as tutor for the royal children; and the Great Bible was sponsored by Henry's Church.

Undoubtedly his record is marked by black deeds and mistakes; for one thing, the dissolution of the monasteries complicated tragically the problem of unemployment by turning a flood of beggars loose upon the roads. But it was, on the other hand, under Henry VIII that these and similar problems approached solution, by the passage of poor relief acts, the enforcement of plague laws, and the improvement in sanitation. And Henry VIII gave England a reformed, national Church; he encouraged the navy; he won for his nation a position among the European powers; he carried on the valuable policy of his father in attaching the middle classes to the Crown; and he fathered three

English sovereigns, one of them perhaps the greatest of all.

The reigns of the first two of Henry's successors may be recounted briefly. Edward VI, son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, came to the throne in 1547 as a boy of nine. A frail, intellectual child, beautifully portrayed by Mark Twain in *The Prince and the Pauper,* he found in his Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, a violent Protestant who would push to the hilt the late king's ecclesiastical reforms. Somerset succeeded in getting an Act of Uniformity passed, which imposed on all churches a Protestant ritual in accordance with the English Book of Common Prayer which Cranmer sponsored.

Edward VI, 1547-1553.

He did not stop, however, at mere ecclesiastical reform. Attempting to quiet the economic unrest by putting a stop to the enclosure of open lands, the Protector ran afoul of the powerful land owners. The discontented peasants, too, blamed him for the very conditions which he was trying to remedy. As a result he was forced out of office after two years.

Somerset's successor, Northumberland, carried on the reform policies by a second Act of Uniformity and by establishing forty-two Articles defining the English faith (Cranmer's work again), of which vestiges still remain in the Anglican prayer book today. His chief blow for Protestantism, however, was struck when he got the Council to vest the succession to the throne in Lady Jane Grey, Henry VIII's Protestant grandniece, despite the superior claim of Roman Catholic Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry and Catharine of Aragon. Northumberland then married Lady Jane to his own son, and pro-

claimed her queen when poor Edward VI died in 1553. But Mary was a match for them. She and her supporters nipped Northumberland's plot in the bud; and later executed all the principal plotters.

The accession of Mary, 1553.

And then the new queen resolutely set herself to undo the religious reforms of her brother and father; in carrying out this policy she won for herself the nickname of "Bloody Mary." Queen Mary was not a bad woman; rather, as we can see in Tennyson's play *Queen Mary,* her extreme sensitivity, combined with hard luck, forced her into the conduct that gave her a black name. She was passionately faithful to her mother's church, the Church of Rome; her own early years had been embittered by her mother's disgrace, and by her father's attacks on that Church. Add to that her ill health, her marriage to a strong Catholic prince, Philip of Spain, her resulting unpopularity in England, her husband's coldness toward her, and the frustration of her own unrestrained desire to bear a son—and we need not wonder that the sensitive nature was warped, and expressed its perverted impulse in savage religious persecution.

Under Mary's influence Parliament first legislated the nation back to the religious status of the days of Henry VIII, eliminating all the reforms of Edward VI's reign. A year later England submitted itself to the Pope, and the Reformation was practically undone—temporarily.

The Roman Catholic reaction.

But against the back swing of the pendulum there was violent opposition on the part of the reformers. Nearly three hundred maintained the new faith with their lives; among these were the two bishops, Latimer and Ridley,

who went to the stake to "light such a candle by God's grace in England as . . . shall never be put out," in the words of the former. Among them, also, was that shrewd politician and catspaw for a king, Archbishop Cranmer, who played the hero at the last and held out to the flames his treacherous right hand that had signed a temporary recantation.

And all the fires were in vain. For Protestants exiled by Mary picked up on the Continent the even more vigorously Protestant doctrines of John Calvin and brought them back to England a few years later. In the neighboring Scottish kingdom, the Calvinistic John Knox organized a "Covenant" of nobles to establish the Protestant Reformation in Scotland, against Queen Mary Stuart, the Church of Rome, and the influence of Catholic France.

After a reign of five brief years poor Mary saw herself dying childless, with all the bloodshed wasted; and her country drawn into a war against France by her loveless husband, Philip of Spain. In that war England lost Calais, the last remnant of its once great French possessions. As a finishing blow Mary Tudor's rival, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was married to the French dauphin, heir to the crown of France.

The death of Mary, 1558.

And when, in 1558, the broken queen of England died, she could have taken small comfort in the thought that the publication of *Tottel's Miscellany,* one year earlier, had given to the world the verses of Wyatt and Surrey as a prelude to the matchless burst of Elizabethan song. Mary Tudor's lot was all bitter loneliness and disappointment; the glories and the victories were reserved for her half-sister, her successor, Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

(1558-1603)

"Upon a great adventure he was bound,
That greatest Gloriana to him gave,
That greatest glorious Queen. . . ."

SPENSER, *The Faerie Queene.*

The queen who came to England's throne on November 7, 1558, was a slender, red-haired woman of twenty-five, with thin, rather intense features and a vigorous, wiry body. Elizabeth's girlhood had not been a happy one; it had begun with the disgraceful death of her own mother, Anne Boleyn, and had continued under a series of step-mothers who cannot have felt very kindly toward her, for the little princess must have been a constant unpleasant reminder of the fate of one of their predecessors. When Elizabeth's crude, irascible father finally died, she was forced to do homage to her sickly young brother as King Edward VI; and after his death the situation became even worse.

The accession of Elizabeth, 1558.

Mary Tudor mounted the throne, but some of her opponents claimed that she was illegitimate and had no right to be queen, since the marriage of her mother, Catharine of Aragon, had been annulled. According to this point of view, Elizabeth was the rightful heir. Mary settled the difficulty in her customary style; she put Elizabeth in the Tower, and probably would have cut off her head, had it

not been for the intercession of her bridegroom, Philip of Spain. Philip may have been acting from motives of humanity; he may also have wished to keep Elizabeth alive as a potential rival to Mary and a check on her independence.

After Mary's death, the question of Elizabeth's legitimacy arose. If Catharine of Aragon had been validly married, then Henry VIII's subsequent union with Anne Boleyn was bigamous, and Elizabeth was a mere natural child. Parliament, however, declared her to be supreme ruler of England.

Despite all the irregularities of her upbringing, Elizabeth had been given the opportunity to develop her body and her mind. She hunted and danced vigorously, and after her accession was able to share appreciatively in a great variety of interests that animated her court; she delighted intelligently in music and poetry; she read, wrote, and spoke, with power and grace, not only English but also the languages of contemporary Europe and of classical antiquity. When as queen she visited the universities, Elizabeth made a point of attending the learned disputations and delivering speeches in Latin and in Greek.

Elizabeth's character.

The new queen's energy was boundless—it had need to be, if she was to grapple successfully with the problems that beset her. She went from work to play and back to work again with incredible dash and swing, leaving her courtiers exhausted by the way. And no man ever knew all that she did, or tracked her snapping, flaring spirit through the mazes of her conduct.

For Elizabeth's character was one of the most strange, the

east calculable, that has ever baffled historians. She was a hameleon, a rainbow, an unblended composite of twenty eople; with unpredictable suddenness she flashed from ne extreme of temperament to another; she was by turns nean, generous, brave, suspicious, cruel, farsighted, unjust, idiculous, splendid; yet in her inmost, inviolable soul she vas always queen of England. At least, so we can now uess, with the help of three and a half centuries of perspec- ive; and even there we may be wrong; Elizabeth is per- aps still duping the world as she duped her most intimate ourtiers.

The *why* of such a woman we cannot hope to under- tand, nor is it of prime importance that we should. Far viser are we if we try to gain some awareness of the woman erself, and to sympathize with *what* she was.

Above all else, Elizabeth was great and she was various; s great and as various as life itself. Not even death, that nded her forty-five years' reign, could tire the power or tale the infinite variety of her afterlife in the English con- ciousness.

On the day of her accession the new queen began the eries of flirtations that involved half the personable young nen in her court and half the desirable matches in Euro- ean politics—yet during the seventy years of her life, ac- ording to tradition she gave herself to no man. Different uesses have been made as to why she remained the Virgin Queen; but after all it is the fact that matters, not the uesses.

Reckless in her personal courage she flouted the constant anger of assassination; yet she slept with a naked sword in er hand. She took grotesque delight in tricking enemies

and friends alike, in lying for sheer sport; yet her disarming openness when she was worsted won the hearts of all about her. Eager for flattery, vain of her personal appearance, she toyed with her countless jeweled rings as an excuse to exhibit the royal hands, and exploited her grace in a secret dance for an ambassador who had been hidden in her closet.

And from such pastimes she turned to an eager study of the fiscal, military, and religious problems of a great nation; or she tested her wits on knotty questions of scholarship and literature with the writers and thinkers who frequented her court. In her own beliefs she was skeptical, and toward the beliefs of others tolerant, for no religious fervor stirred her spirit; yet when her dean preached against the use of images, "Leave that alone, Master Dean!" the queen cried from the royal pew. "Stick to your text; leave that alone!"

Elizabeth's thrift was proverbial; not only did it enable her to live within the fixed Crown income; but also, exaggerated into stinginess, it drove her to profiteer in the meat provided for royal sailors, and to cling like a miser to every old garment she ever owned. Yet this same Elizabeth delighted to move across her realm from stately pageant to pageant like the revels at Kenilworth, which impoverished her subjects and must occasionally have tapped the royal purse itself; in her crown she displayed with pride the splendid gems that Drake had stolen for her on the Spanish Main; in her wardrobe there hung three thousand dresses. Too arrogant to bear the reproaches of her ablest ministers, she flattered and cajoled the dissipated young roisterers whose writings cast a lustre on her court, and she fondled

n public callow young squires who knelt in homage. Too elf-willed to bear the criticism of her subjects, she bade her angman strike from its wrist the right hand of John tubbs, who wrote a pamphlet denouncing one of her pro-ected marriages—and loyal John Stubbs waved the bloody tump in her honor, crying "God save Queen Elizabeth." When Mary Stuart's death-warrant had been signed, the English queen disavowed the act and tried, by punishing er own secretary, to escape responsibility. Yet when Francis Drake returned from circling the globe and ravag-ng the Spanish king's possessions, and Philip demanded edress, this same Elizabeth donned her full regalia and pro-eeded to the deck of Drake's *Golden Hind,* where she nighted the bold adventurer in recognition of his services.

With a heart empty of love for her friends, of gratitude to er benefactors, of hate toward her rivals, she suffered uring her whole life agonies of loneliness, against which he tried to raise a defensive wall of power and popularity. She voiced a cry of unbearable bitterness when her royal ival, Mary Stuart, bore a son, while she herself remained barren stock; but through her whole life she held firm o the one purpose of serving England, no matter what he cost to Elizabeth Tudor.

A Tudor she was to the bone, born and bred to be an English sovereign, and gifted with the strange Tudor genius or ruling English men and English hearts. And her ubjects doted upon her. They cheated her, they criticized er, they thwarted her when they could; and they gave her heir lives and their love and let her build England of them.

That the making of the new England was Elizabeth's

work more than any other's, no one can deny. At the time of her accession the nation was torn by religious strife between powerful Catholic and Protestant parties. Foreign relations were dangerously tangled; England was at war with France, and mixed up by marriage or blood alliances with Spain and Scotland. Economically, too, the country was in a bad condition, deeply in debt, and still suffering from Henry VIII's debasement of the coinage (he had substituted a large proportion of base metal for the silver in his coins). Out of such chaos, Elizabeth was to make order.

The problems facing Elizabeth at her accession.

A foundation stone of the state was the Anglican Church, and that Church took its form through the queen's wise manipulation in what is known as the Elizabethan Settlement. Immediately upon her accession, Parliament began to direct the national Church away from Mary's Roman Catholic reaction, and back toward its status in Henry VIII's reign and even to the more pronounced Protestantism of Edward VI. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were passed, making Elizabeth Supreme Head of the Church, and imposing on all congregations in common a ritual, a prayer book, and thirty-nine articles of faith.

The Elizabethan Settlement.

Extremists would gladly have gone further at once. But the queen had a decided conservative streak in her nature, along with a fondness for the forms of the Catholic service. What is more, she wished to check the Protestant presumptions, and to avoid antagonizing the strong Catholic sentiment that persisted among the people. So men's consciences were let severely alone, and the queen herself was apt to rebuke a preacher too Protestant in tone.

Gradually, however, the situation grew more acute. The

Pope first forbade the attendance of Catholics at English services, and in 1570 excommunicated the queen. It became impossible for a man to preserve his loyalty to Elizabeth and to the Pope simultaneously; and many of the devout Catholics who remained in England or came there secretly from abroad were in fact traitors to the Crown, scheming the queen's downfall or assassination. The anti-Protestant atrocities of the Spanish Duke of Alva, and of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in France, strengthened English prejudice against the Catholics, and Elizabeth allowed her Church to become more Protestant; stricter penalties, too, were enforced against the Catholics. But these penalties, be it remembered, were directed not against religious heresy, but against political disloyalty—treason.

Fifteen years later the situation had changed. Catholic sentiment was much less widespread, and in place of it the radical Protestant spirit of Calvin was rampant in the Church. With this sort of thing the queen had no patience; Calvin's system in effect made the Church independent, supreme over the State—and was quite out of harmony with Elizabeth's theory of politics.

As a result the queen discouraged severely all ultra-Protestant tendencies. The Puritans, who wished to remain in the English Church but to simplify its services; the Presbyterians, who wished to abolish the episcopal hierarchy of bishops and substitute the Calvinistic system of elders as the basis of church administration; the Separatists, who wished to withdraw from the organized church and have each congregation left free to run its own affairs—all were frowned upon. So hostile was the government to their spirit that groups of these "radicals," a generation later, took refuge first in Holland and later on the unsettled coasts

of New England in order to find liberty to impose their own especial brand of religious tyranny.

In England the Protestant sentiment came to a head in 1588 in a series of scurrilous pamphlets against the bishops of the established Anglican Church (it is also called the Church of England, and in doctrine corresponds to the Protestant Episcopal Church in America). The government, however, violently suppressed these "Martin Marprelate" tracts; and a few years later the queen's Church found a defender in Richard Hooker, whose *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* is a defense of the Anglican system, raised to the level of great literature by its masterly prose style.

A well coördinated, moderately Protestant Church, closely bound to the State, and partly Catholic in organization and doctrine, was Elizabeth's solution of the religious question. And it is worth noting that this solution saved England from the religious wars that were devastating the Continent; that it practically out-moded the detestable conception of heresy, and substituted treason as the test for punishment; that it united Church and State in a uniform system broad enough to include almost all shades of belief and flexible enough to adjust itself to the changing needs of the nation; that it permitted the new spiritual vitality of the Reformation to work into English life; and finally, that it gave as little occasion as possible for the use of thumbscrews and stake, and judged men for their acts only, without worrying about their beliefs and their consciences.

It is also worth noting that this conservative, compromise solution was probably made possible not only by Elizabeth's skill but also by the comparatively tepid state of religious feeling in England. And the solution did

nothing to disturb that tepid state; it left Englishmen for a time free to cultivate the violent sensuous delight they had learned to take in life; it permitted the full flower of the Renaissance to come in England to a late and splendid blooming, safe from the blasting breath of Reformation zeal.

If the queen's first problem was that of the Church, her most severe and unremitting concern was her foreign policy. Spain, France, Scotland, and the Netherlands were her chief worries; the Papacy, the Empire, and Ireland were minor problems; and all these states, in every conceivable combination, plagued her all through the half century of her reign. Any man would have gone to pieces in a week under the pitiless pressure of emergencies none of which were ever disposed of. But for Elizabeth it was all a magnificently involved and protracted game; she throve in playing it. The longer she could put off action in any crisis, the better; while she refrained from any one course, she retained her choice over all courses, until circumstances forced her to make a certain move which was, most likely, what she should have done all along.

Elizabeth's foreign policy.

The warp upon which all of Elizabeth's foreign policy was woven was Spain. There was a fundamental antipathy between England and Spain which had not in any way been eased by Mary Tudor's marriage to the Spanish Philip II, son of the powerful Emperor Charles V, or by the religious differences between the countries (Spain was strongly Catholic). To complicate matters, the Spanish infantry-men were the finest soldiers in the world; Spain was becoming mighty through

Philip II of Spain.

exploration and trade in the Orient and the New World; and she had become a close and dangerous neighbor to England through Philip II's control of the Netherlands, England's wool-market just across the Channel. Philip, moreover, wished to carry out the policy he had begun in marrying "Bloody" Mary; he wished to restore England to the papal fold, and to control it as an additional weapon in his armament against his rival, France.

Philip's first step was to propose marriage to Elizabeth, as he wished to ally himself with her against the Scotch queen Mary Stuart, who had married the Dauphin Francis of France. Elizabeth had no intention of marrying him, but she kept him waiting as long as possible while she strengthened her own position.

Philip, in the meantime, was distracted by uprisings against him in the Netherlands; and even after he gave up hope of the English match, he kept at peace with England. For one thing, he did not wish to drive the island kingdom into the arms of his rival, France; for another, he hoped that sooner or later he would get England anyway, for Francis of France had died in 1560, and Mary Stuart had returned to Scotland to reign over her kingdom. And Mary Stuart, a good Catholic and a direct descendant of Henry VII, was heir to Elizabeth's crown; in fact, thought many English Catholics, Mary Stuart was already by right queen of England, rather than the illegitimate daughter of Anne Boleyn!

So Philip, who liked waiting, waited.

During the years while the situation hung fire, Elizabeth was not idle. She secretly encouraged her bold sea-rovers to prey upon Spanish shipping, and when Philip retaliated

by attacking Drake, in Mexico, Elizabeth seized Philip's treasure ships as they sailed through the Channel bound for the Spanish Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. And then the queen proceeded to "borrow" Philip's gold, because, forsooth, she had a right to the loan, as she had rescued it from Channel pirates!

Slowly the crisis drew nearer; Drake pillaged the Spanish colonies, and Elizabeth acknowledged his services publicly; the leader of the Dutch revolt against Philip, William "the Silent" of Orange, was assassinated; Elizabeth sensibly rejected the offer the Netherlands made her of their crown, and sent instead an ineffective expedition under her favorite, Leicester, which did nothing except give Sir Philip Sidney the chance to end a noble life nobly at Zutphen. "Thy necessity is greater than mine!" said the wounded courtier-poet, and gave a cup of precious water to a dying soldier at his side.

And still Philip refrained from attack, though Drake's depredations became ever more bold and severe. Mary Stuart, exiled from her own country long since, was a prisoner in an English castle, and a center for English rebellion against Elizabeth; and through Mary Stuart, Philip still hoped to have his will at last.

Then, in 1587, the whole situation changed in a twinkling. Mary Stuart was beheaded.

At once Philip began his preparations to invade England. His first ships were destroyed when Drake raided Cadiz itself; but the work went on, until in mid-summer a great fleet, the Armada, sailed from Spain. Its purpose was to control the Channel and to help Philip's general, the Duke of Parma, cross from the

The Spanish Armada, 1588.

Netherlands with an army to invade and conquer England.

The expedition of the Armada ended in complete failure; due partly to the unfamiliar naval tactics of the English, and partly to the weather. Composed of clumsy ships, overloaded with unskilled sailors and haughty soldiers who disdained to lend a hand and who had no conception of open-sea fighting on isolated boats, the Spanish fleet was at the mercy of the English. A swarm of privateers swelled the number of Elizabeth's vessels; the English boats, though small, were swift and sure; their armament was splendid, and they were manned by toughened sea dogs, and by adventurers who, gentlemen or not, had been taught by Drake to stand shoulder to shoulder with the mariners at rope or cannon. English tactics in the Channel harassed the Armada; English fireships, set loose to drift down the wind, demoralized the Spanish anchorage at Calais; North Sea fogs and storms gave the finishing touches. The pitiful remnants of the Armada, after sailing around the British Isles, finally made their way back to Spain; England was saved.

Philip II lived for ten years more, but the Armada's defeat started Spain's decline. It did not, however, make England mistress of the seas; the Netherlands still surpassed her. Elizabeth seems to have known her own limitations, and she resisted the attempts of her advisers to force her into an aggressive war against Spain and the Spanish colonies. Desultory hostilities continued, as evidenced, for example, by the capture of the English ship *Revenge* by the Spaniards in 1591, which was the occasion for a brilliant prose pamphlet by Sir Walter Raleigh describing the heroic outcome of the event, and which Tenny-

son, centuries later, took as the subject for one of his most moving poems. But the defeat of the Armada, undoubtedly the greatest single event in Elizabeth's reign, was also the climax of her conflict with Spain, and we must turn now to other phases of her foreign policy.

Mary Queen of Scots.

The relations between England and Scotland during the latter half of the Sixteenth Century were inextricably tangled with the relations between the two queens, Elizabeth and Mary. Mary Stuart, the daughter of James V of Scotland, was born in 1542—nine years after Elizabeth Tudor. As vigorous, as brave, as talented as the English queen, Mary excelled her by the priceless possession of a personal charm that brought all men to their knees before her. But her great weakness, as a sovereign, lay in the fact that she could not sacrifice her heart for her country. Gladly she gave all for love, though that all included her kingdom and her life. Her impetuousness, her charm, her generosity of heart, made her infinitely greater than Elizabeth as a woman, but she was infinitely less as a queen.

Her girlhood she spent in France as the wife of the Dauphin Francis, while her mother, the French Mary of Guise, ruled Scotland as Regent. Two years after Elizabeth's accession, however, in 1560, the Scottish "Lords of the Congregation," a band or "Covenant" of Protestant nobles organized by the able and rabid Calvinistic reformer, John Knox, threw off French influence and made their country Protestant. In the same year the French Regent died, and also Mary Stuart's husband, Francis; and in the following year the brilliant young widow returned to Scotland to rule her own kingdom with her own hand.

Elizabeth was now in a delicate situation; the English queen had undoubtedly lent aid to the rebellious Lords of the Congregation; it was to her interest to encourage Protestantism, to check Catholicism and French influence in the neighboring kingdom, and to discourage Mary Stuart's claim to the English crown. On the other hand, Elizabeth was no friend to rebellious nobles; the fiery, woman-hating John Knox was hardly a man after her own heart, and his brand of Protestantism she detested; and she had every reason to encourage subjects in their loyalty to a female sovereign.

Entangled among these conflicting considerations, trying to maintain her own balance among Calvinists, Anglicans, Catholics, Scots, Englishmen, rebels, loyalists, allies, rivals, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and a score of other parties, Elizabeth muddled along, staving off Mary's pretensions to England, until Mary herself, by a supreme act of spirited folly, solved the difficulty.

The Scottish queen had taken as her second husband her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley; and to him she had borne a son, the future King James VI of Scotland and I of England. But Darnley was a detestable weakling; Mary and he soon quarreled, and he answered her contempt by murdering her Italian secretary Rizzio almost at her feet. To cap the climax Mary fell in love with a swashbuckling noble, the Earl of Bothwell. With Darnley living they could not marry; but Darnley, lying ill in a lonely house near Edinburgh, Kirk o'Field, was killed by a gunpowder explosion. Whether or not the famous casket letters, which implicated Mary, were genuine, she was undoubtedly morally guilty; and when she married Bothwell, after a farcical

rial and acquittal, Scotland rose in horror against her. On he spur of the moment she fled for refuge—to England! And there, in 1568, Elizabeth threw her into prison, and kept her for the nineteen bitter years until her execution.

With the Scottish nation England could now at last be t peace; and this peace, the prelude to political union be-ween the two countries, has endured practically unbroken ver since. But Mary in her English prison lived on as a horn in Elizabeth's side, and as a peerless heroine of omance to inspire writers in later days, even to the time of winburne and Maurice Hewlett and John Drinkwater. Mary was valuable as a pawn in Philip II's game; she erved as a rallying point for the English Catholics and he enemies of Elizabeth. The great nobles of the north, nembers of proud old families like the Percys and the Nevilles who despised the Protestant upstart, rose in rebel-on; but Queen Elizabeth crushed them and executed their eaders; having broken these dangerous rivals of her rule, he was able to install her own loyal followers in positions f trust in northern England.

Mary now began plotting to get her cousin-queen assas-nated. But Elizabeth and her secret agents were not in-ctive in uncovering Mary's intrigues, and the loyal Eng-sh demanded the execution of this dangerous and fascinat-ng serpent in their midst. Elizabeth, who disliked the lea of beheading queens, and who herself found Mary seful in putting off Philip II, hesitated. But at last in 586 Mary's part in the Babington assassination plot was roved beyond a doubt; and in the following year Elizabeth elded to pressure and allowed her council to work their ill; Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, was beheaded.

With France, Elizabeth was as successful as she had been in her relations with Spain and Scotland. In the early years of her reign the French statesmen, unwilling to force her into an alliance with Spain, were careful to avoid open hostilities; later Elizabeth eased the situation by dallying with the prospect of marriage to the French Duke of Alençon; and the French themselves were seriously pre-occupied with internal struggles between the Protestant Huguenots and the Catholic party led by the great family of Guise.

Elizabeth and France.

It was in Ireland that Elizabeth's policy broke down—in Ireland, where English statesmen have made so many fatal mistakes. Henry VIII, by extending his political and religious system in the neighboring isle, had aroused fearful animosities. Native resistance to the English Protestant Reformation was fast making Ireland the most devoutly religious spot in western Europe, and, as a hot-bed of anti-Protestantism and Anglophobia, it was becoming an attractive vantage point for Spanish and Catholic attacks against England.

Ireland under Elizabeth.

The queen decided to meet this situation by Anglicizing the island thoroughly; to effect this result she sent over more soldiers, and established new English officials and colonies of settlers, beginning the process which resulted in the famous Plantation of Ulster in the next reign. Many men close to her at court, or important in the life of the times—her friend Sir Walter Raleigh; her poet Edmund Spenser; Richard Grenville, destined to be hero of the *Revenge*—went over to Ireland on this enterprise. Gradually for a time conquest advanced and colonization spread, despite severe setbacks such as the failure of Essex's

dministration. This royal favorite, a stepson of the ad-
ired Leicester, was drawn into a court quarrel as a
esult of his unceremonious return from Ireland. Shake-
peare's play about a deposed king, *Richard II,* was pro-
uced at this time perhaps because it contained propaganda
vorable to Essex's revolt against his court rivals; and
hen Essex lost his head for treason in 1601, Shakespeare's
atron, Southampton, fell into disgrace.

In the following year Essex's successor seemed to have
ccomplished a final settlement of the Irish turmoil, and
e queen may have died believing that even in Ireland
er policy was successful. But we know better.

In the internal affairs of her kingdom Elizabeth's tact was
fine, and her eventual control as effective, as in her
handling of religious and foreign relations. She drew to herself all religious parties by efusing to go to extremes with any of them; similarly, aving insisted upon her own legitimacy and right to the rone, she refused to take any definite steps toward mar-age or toward naming her successor; she thus succeeded keeping all factions guessing, and inevitably dependent her.

lizabeth and arliament.

Afraid to alienate her people by high taxes or to give arliament a weapon against her, she lived as thriftily as e could on what she had, and rarely summoned Parlia-ent to meet. When the legislators did meet, the House Lords was so weakened by the decay of the older aristoc-cy that the Commons, vitalized by the addition of new ercantile and political blood, had the upper hand. And lizabeth dominated the policy of the Commons, usually sheer aggressiveness, except in those rare instances

where she found their opposition immovable and gracefully removed her pressure.

The queen's influence over the House of Commons was in some instances strengthened by "packing," a process that lasted for centuries. The queen took advantage of the fact that some of the members were elected from city districts called boroughs; she created new boroughs, often in out-of-the-way, sparsely settled rural districts, and secured the election of absentee politicians who would follow her bidding as representatives of these boroughs. A Parliament "packed" with members representing these artificial boroughs could be easily handled.

In spite of the poverty of the national treasury, Elizabeth kept the taxes low, and gave her Parliament little work to do. Much of the machinery of the government was operated by the Court of High Commission, a new court formed to administer the laws controlling the Church. But the bulk of the work which the queen herself did not do was handled by her Privy Council, a group of statesmen including her most important advisers: William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, her Lord Treasurer; the able secretary of state, Sir Francis Walsingham, who looked after foreign affairs and represented the bolder military party; and Nicolas Bacon, Lord Chancellor, whose son Francis, author of the inimitable *Essays,* helped prosecute his own patron Essex for treason, and in the next reign rose to great political heights before he was crushed by dishonor and disgrace.

Elizabeth's advisers.

These men, and other members of the new aristocracy founded on wealth, brains, or power, which the Tudors built up to support themselves and to fill the place of the

anishing feudal nobility, served Elizabeth wisely and well. The queen also made use, in governing her realm, of the ersonal favorites with whom she flirted, chief among them ie handsome, worthless Leicester, at whose castle of Kenil-vorth Elizabeth was regally entertained, and Essex, who nally fell a victim to his own ill-advised ambition.

This, then, was the governmental machine that Eliza-eth built up and operated, and from which the modern nglish State developed. It was a compact, island kingdom, efinitely committed to isolate itself from continental Euro-ean politics; England had at last learned the bitter lesson f the Hundred Years' War—to avoid entangling interests n the Continent. The nation was beginning to realize iat its true future lay on the high seas and in a far-flung ıter-continental empire.

It was the queen herself who helped the nation to that ealization. Encouraged by Elizabeth, English traders, ex-

lizabethan explorers id colonizers.

plorers, and adventurers penetrated into Russia, North America, and the Orient, stablishing new commercial contacts. Under Elizabeth ie famous East India Company was organized, which id the foundations of Great Britain's present Indian mpire. One of Elizabeth's sea-dogs, Hawkins, opened ie negro slave trade by stealing African savages and sell-ıg them as laborers in America. One of her favorites, Sir Valter Raleigh, whom tradition associates with the episode f the cloak and the mud-puddle, colonized Virginia, aming it for his queen. The sea-rover whom Elizabeth nighted in defiance of Philip of Spain, Francis Drake, iled an English ship around the world and plundered alf the harbors of Spain and Spanish America.

In the year after the Armada, and again a decade later, Hakluyt published his fascinating *Principall Navigations*, an account of the great English voyages. And during the time that these adventurous sea-enterprises were taking place, England was gaining new footholds all over the globe, and English shipping and English maritime power were increasing.

Commerce and industry.

The growing trade, in which the queen herself invested heavily, stimulated domestic industry. It was in the beginning the need for finding ocean routes over which the bulky English manufactures, cloth in particular, could be transported, that encouraged exploration. As commerce flourished, so did industry. Traders brought home profits in goods and gold, and only too often the additional profits of piracy. Manufacturers found new and richer markets for their products. And Elizabeth, calling in the old, debased currency, replaced it with pure, new coins that gave English commerce a firm financial basis.

The English people grew prosperous, wealthy, happy. Relieved of the burden of heavy taxes, they saved their money or spent it on fine clothes and splendid houses. And though the queen was left too poor to buy their help in times of emergency, her subjects were rich enough to give the aid she needed, giving their hearts along with it.

Social conditions under Elizabeth.

Naturally a state of affairs which was at heart so flourishing, so sound, affected profoundly the social life of the nation. With the disappearance of the old feudal aristocracy, one great barrier between the sovereign and her people vanished. Elizabeth's interest in her subjects, the imaginative sympathy between

ıe queen and the man in the street, their common enter-
ises over the seas or against the Pope or Philip, and their
ɔmmon success all strengthened the bond between queen
ıd commoner, and encouraged the development of a
urdy middle-class population, part urban, part rural, the
ıckbone of the nation.

And, as this new class became conscious of its own exist-
ıce; as it looked around in dawning awareness of its own
ɔwer, its own achievements against feudalism and the
oman Church and the might of Spain, its own com-
union with a great and glorious queen, who can won-
er that it shouted aloud in its delight, and turned to at-
ck new problems with all the gusto of a free, interested
dividualism.

As the new middle class grew in numbers and in wealth,
ıe standards of living changed. The frowning feudal
stles, with their moats and battlements, disappeared; and
mbling country houses or town mansions grew up in
eir stead—delightful places in which to live, built of brick
timber and plaster in the pleasant Tudor style, open to
ın and air through their newly introduced movable win-
ɔws of glass, fresh and dry within, with bright carpets re-
acing filthy old rushes on the floors.

Men began to pay more attention to cultivating their
vn fields, despite the revival of hard feeling over the
ıclosure of common land; farming, hunting, and similar
elightful occupations increased; and with new wealth
me new comforts, new luxuries—tables were bright with
ver and crystal, and rich foreign wines helped wash down
nglish beef.

The growing prosperity of country life helped to balance

the thriving industries that stimulated the cities; side by side rural and urban England developed together without rivalry. In the towns, where industry was centered, young men were trained to the various crafts by the system of apprenticeship. And when the apprentice system was made uniform for town and country by the passage of Elizabeth's Statute of Artificers, in 1563, another step was taken in economic and social progress. For two centuries this beneficent law strengthened the backbone of the nation by providing education and discipline for the rising generation.

There was, however, another side to the picture; Elizabethan England was not Utopia. Superstition still swayed the minds of men, disease was prevalent, and among the lowest classes poverty was so severe that extensive Poor Laws had to be passed in 1601. The rapid increase of wealth among manufacturers and traders brought about a new and sharp distinction between classes.

The last years of Elizabeth's reign were saddened by the loss of some of her favorite ministers, by her own old age, and by a growing spirit of discontent among the people. Puritan agitators were disturbing the Church, the Irish situation was troublesome, men grumbled whenever the queen granted a monopoly or right to deal exclusively in some commodity. The independent temper of the English resented the queen's absolutism, and her arbitrary refusal to name her successor.

Elizabethan culture.

But this drab picture is true of a few years only. The great queen's reign, as a whole, teemed with rich, vigorous life, potent and diversified; and out of that life sprang the culture of Elizabethan England.

When Leicester wished to do honor to his queen in masques nd pageants at Kenilworth, he could lay at her feet the easures of a world newly doubled in time and space by ie researches of scholars and the voyages of adventurers. he beauties of classic art and literature, the wealth of the panish Main, scholarship, medieval legend, side by side ith native English sport and plenty—all were at the rvice of the queen who had herself helped make them vailable.

The people, too, shared in the feast. Primarily through ie theatres, the man in the street came into contact with ie creations of Elizabethan culture. The theatres them-lves were primitive affairs, developed from the inn-yards which traveling groups of actors had produced their mbryonic plays. The drama became popular enough in ondon to require special buildings; they were little more an enclosed roofless yards. Covered galleries ran along ie side; opposite was the stage, a platform protruding into ie yard, with a balcony above and a room that could be reened off behind it. The open place between stage and lleries was known as the pit; here the poorer members the audience stood, exposed to the weather, to watch the ay.

Even under such conditions, playgoing became so popular at there were eleven theatres in and around London by e end of Elizabeth's reign. And the audiences in those eatres were offered as entertainment the finest produc-ons of the greatest Elizabethan playwrights, men like akespeare and Marlowe. If, as the legend goes, it was the queen's command that Shakespeare wrote about alstaff the comedy of *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* it

was before an audience of Londoners in a theatre such as we have described that the play was played.

Side by side with drama, music was advancing. Amateur performance was popular; in many homes songs and instrumental music enriched the life of the people; and great composers like William Byrd fixed some of the musical spirit of the times in permanent form.

Song and drama, important as they were, were but parts of the great literary production of Elizabethan England.

Elizabethan literature.

Not only had polished models been imported from the Continent, particularly from Italy, but also two of the richest sources of inspiration had recently been opened to Englishmen. The Reformation had put the English Bible into the hands of the people, and the Renaissance had revealed the inexhaustible treasures of Greek and Roman literature and art. Inspiration, subjects, and forms all came together. And at the same time the language was in a state peculiarly favorable to literary composition. The English tongue was still infinitely more free and flexible than it is today; or at any rate great poets dared to treat it as if it were free and flexible. Accents could still be shifted from syllable to syllable, as rhythm demanded; single words could be used as several different parts of speech; and in a world full of marvels and surprises, no one objected to finding a familiar, vivid term in a strange, suggestive context.

The men who worked with this language were not blind to its rare worth; Shakespeare paid his tribute to it through the lips of Mowbray in *Richard II.* And they used the language to the utmost advantage in one imperishable creation after another.

But, after all, much of the credit for the work of these ien—dramatists, poets, essayists, romancers, historians, ranslators—is due not to them but to the conditions under vhich they wrote, and to the great queen who helped create iose conditions. Many of the writers of Elizabeth's day ve have already mentioned because of their close contact vith her. And all who wrote during her reign were ffected by it—among them Daniel and Peele; Lyly, who vas patronized by her minister Burleigh; Greene, Lodge, nd Nashe; Drayton, whose great *Agincourt* celebrates the nglish nationalism of an earlier century; Chapman, North, nd Florio, who turned masterpieces of Greek, Roman, nd French literature into English masterpieces. All of iese added glory to the Elizabethan age; each of them owes ome greatness to his queen.

The close contact between the literature of the nation nd the center of national life undoubtedly helped to make iat literature great. And literary greatness is only one of ie many achievements of Elizabeth's reign. A thrilling ombination of circumstances brought everyday, common-lace business life into direct contact with the wildest sort f romance and adventure. Commerce and piracy, in-ustry and exploration, scholarship and war, politics and erature, were constantly meeting and vitalizing each other. ut of these startling unions, great things were born.

Not only by stimulating all these interests, but also by ving the nation a long continued period of prosperity and curity in which these interests could bear fruit, the ueen did her share. She inspired and strengthened Eng-hmen, too, with a new loyalty, a new love, for England

and the queen, that went far beyond the old ties of Church, family, or political faction.

And under the patronage of Elizabeth London tradesmen and South Sea adventurers rubbed elbows in the pit of the Globe Theatre, applauding the soliloquies of Hamlet.

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLY STUARTS

(1603-1649)

"But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more."

MILTON, *Lycidas*.

When Elizabeth died, the heir to the English crown was
er distant cousin, King James VI of Scotland, the son of
Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley. With
him began the feverish attempt of the
tuart family to rule as well as reign over the southern
ingdom, an attempt that lasted all through the Seven-
enth Century.

he accession of ames I, 1603.

James I was not temperamentally fit for his task. He was
man of middle age, a stiff, obstinate pedant, lacking
those glamorous qualities which had so endeared the
udor monarchs to their subjects. Completely blind to
s own learned ignorance of the English national temper,
immediately celebrated his arrival in England by the
espotic hanging of a pickpocket without fair trial.

Before inheriting the English crown, James had already
nounced his belief in the divine right of kings, claiming
that his power was unlimited by any rights
of his people, that he himself was not subject
the laws of his country, and that he derived his power
om God alone and was responsible only to God. Hav-
g become King James I of England, the monarch re-
irmed his divine right. He was surrounded by enemies:

e divine ght of kings.

political enemies like Sir Walter Raleigh, who was thrown into the Tower for plotting; and religious enemies. The Roman Catholics were trying to deprive him of his throne, and they almost succeeded in the infamous Gunpowder Plot (in which Guy Fawkes played an important part). This was an attempt, discovered on November 5, 1605, to blow up the king and both Houses of Parliament. The Catholics justified themselves on the ground that the Pope was supreme over all kings. At the same time a strong Protestant party in the Anglican Church was eager to abolish bishops and set up the Presbyterian organization, which made the Church a power greater than the State. James's insistence upon his own divine right was an answer to all such pretensions.

The power which James claimed was in fact no greater than that which Elizabeth had exercised. But James was not Elizabeth; he lacked the personal magic, the executive qualities, and the policies necessary to bend his subjects to his own will. The English people, after an era of prosperity, were no longer willing to purchase peace and order at the price of blind submission to a despot's commands. The growth of their power abroad, and the development of independent traits and ideas, encouraged them to assert themselves at home; they burned to take a hand in their own government, when a change in rulers did not bring about a bettering of conditions.

Status of Parliament in the early Seventeenth Century.

The national Parliament was in theory the agency by which the people could express their will. But actually that body represented only the upper classes, and was feared by the people before the Tudor times because of its

nlimited use of bills of attainder, which could destroy ıe life and property of a private citizen. The Tudors ·ized upon the unpopularity of Parliament, and gave the vo Houses few opportunities to do anything. The Com- ıons and Lords could not be summoned to meet except by ıe sovereign's command; and they could be instantly dis- ıissed by royal order. The nation had not yet recognized ıe principle that, in case of disagreement between king nd Parliament, the latter was supreme. The House of Commons had not yet established its superiority over the ords; and the king's ministers did not realize that they ere responsible for their conduct primarily to Parliament. Most men still felt that the chief function of the legislative ody was to vote taxes, to provide funds for the govern- ıent. Only by demanding that grievances be redressed efore financial relief was voted could Parliament exert ny independent power.

Elizabeth, by strict economy, had managed to get along vithout much financial help from Parliament, and in this way had given the legislative body little chance to interfere with her rule. But when Elizabeth ied, her government was deeply in debt and was still en- aged in war with Spain. Her successor inherited a difficult nancial problem.

inancial ifficulties.

The best policy for James was to practice thrift, and, vhen necessary, to make concessions to Parliament in ex- hange for the grant of subsidies, or funds for his use. But ames could not practice thrift, and his theories regarding is own absolute power forbade his making concessions. The conflict between the king and his people was in-

tensified by James's extreme unpopularity, which was due to a number of causes. Stiff-necked English squires detested the king's claim of divine right, as they detested his high-handed conduct. A liberty-loving people who had rejoiced for centuries in the protection of their own common law hated the specially privileged courts like the Star Chamber and the High Commission which James's predecessors had set up and which he himself fostered as instruments of his personal tyranny. A powerful jurist, Coke, defended the common law so vigorously that James dismissed him from his office of Chief Justice; Coke thereupon became one of the king's most dangerous enemies in Parliament.

James I's unpopularity.

James's graceless personality added to his unpopularity; his extravagance, though it rendered his court brilliant with pageants and masques, some of them written by Ben Jonson and designed by the great architect Inigo Jones, did not endear him to his people. He surrounded himself with worthless favorites whom the nation despised, chief among them the brilliant and unscrupulous George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

Worst of all were James's foreign policy and his attitude toward religious affairs. England felt that Spain was its hereditary enemy, yet the Stuart king beheaded Sir Walter Raleigh for attacking a Spanish colony, and tried to unite his own family by marriage to the Spanish rulers. At the same time he established a Protestant alliance by marrying his daughter Elizabeth to a Protestant German ruler, Frederick, the Elector Palatine. The wedding was a sumptuous affair, during which *The Tempest,* one of Shakespeare's last plays, was

James I's foreign policy.

performed. From the marriage a daughter was born, through whom the House of Hanover eventually inherited the English throne.

James's son-in-law, Frederick, soon became involved in a struggle against the Catholic Emperor; in order to win Spanish support for Frederick, James redoubled his efforts to secure a marriage alliance with Spain. But it was against the policy of Catholic Spain to war against the Catholic Emperor; and the Spanish Infanta or princess, the suggested bride, rejected the proposals of Prince Charles, the son and heir of the English king. Without English aid, Frederick was defeated and forced to flee to Holland. And James, having permitted a Protestant ruler to lose his possessions, became more unpopular than ever.

The king's handling of Irish affairs was as ill-advised as his European policy, and caused as much trouble to his successors if not to himself. Although an able and determined governor was gradually reducing the Irish people to some sort of order, James suddenly seized a large part of northern Ireland, and, evicting the residents, turned over the choicest lands to Scotch and English settlers. This "Plantation of Ulster," in 1611, was the origin of the Protestant Ulster that complicates the Irish situation today.

James I's handling of religious problems.

With the vigorous spirit of reform in the Anglican Church James had no sympathy. Presbyterian sentiment was running higher and higher, and many reformers wished to abolish entirely the episcopal organization of bishops. But James had never forgotten the rough way that the Presbyterians in Scotland had treated his mother, and later himself; and he knew what valuable support the bishops gave

to his own throne. "No bishop, no king!" he cried, and he threatened to harry the Puritan and Presbyterian reformers out of his kingdom. By encouraging the old-fashioned observance of Sunday with games, feasting, and fun, James caused especial pain to the stricter Puritans. Partly through such devices, and partly by means of the special courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, the king persecuted the Puritans so severely that many of them were glad to flee to the barren shores of North America and participate in the settlement of New England. They were the second group of English settlers to go to the New World; the first had settled Jamestown in 1607 with the approval of James I.

James's attitude toward the Church intensified the bad feeling between him and his people. He was unable to manage Parliament as he wished; he could not get the two Houses to vote him the supplies he needed, nor could he quell their spirit of opposition. He attempted, therefore, to rule without summoning Parliament to meet. For seven years the legislative body was never once permitted to assemble, but the spirit of the legislators was not broken. At last a crisis in foreign affairs, due to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War on the Continent, forced James to summon Parliament. But Parliament, as soon as it met, demanded first of all the redress of grievances; and then, turning its wrath against James's corrupt Chancellor, Francis Bacon, revived the ancient process of impeachment and convicted him.

James I's struggle with Parliament.

King James did not long survive the downfall of his Chancellor, the collapse of his own plans for a marriage

alliance with Spain, and the pitiful failure of his only essay in war—the Mansfeld expedition of the Thirty Years' War. In 1623 the Spanish Infanta finally rejected Prince Charles, though he had come to Spain to plead his suit in person; a year later Charles was formally pledged to a sister of the French king instead, and in 1625 James I died.

The death of James I, 1625.

He had been a poor king; he had alienated his subjects' affections from the Crown; he had lowered his country's prestige abroad; he had built up a fatal spirit of opposition between the two great heads of the English state—the king and the Parliament.

With the exception of the great King James' or Authorized Version of the Bible, which appeared at his command in 1611, any glory of literature or art clinging around the extravagant pageantry of his court was a mere afterglow of the splendors of the preceding reign. To his son Charles he left nothing vital and valuable; he left only a nation agitated by religious, political, and financial disorder, and meanly involved in the squabbles of Continental princes; this, with an empty treasury and an overflowing measure of contempt and distrust, was Charles I's inheritance.

The new king, unfortunately, was not made of such stuff as strengthened him to cope with these problems. Handsome in appearance, cultured and pleasing in manner, so deeply religious that many adherents of his church have well-nigh canonized him, he lacked completely the Tudor gift of diagnosing and expressing the spirit of the nation. Instead, everything about Charles served only to deepen the distrust that the

The accession of Charles I, 1625.

people had felt for his father. Lacking in force and decision, he permitted in his court folly and vice that antagonized the increasingly Puritanical temper of his subjects. His chief adviser was the same Buckingham who had been his father's favorite, and whom most Englishmen hated. His queen, Henrietta Maria, was a Frenchwoman and a Roman Catholic—a dangerous schemer whom no one could trust.

Charles inherited, too, his father's unpopular convictions regarding the divine right of kings. And he could not adjust himself to the national attitude toward religion. He himself adopted the High Anglican position; that is, he favored elaborate ritual and ceremony in the church services; and although he believed that the Church should be restored to its primitive state before popish abuses crept in, he despised the Protestant innovations of Luther and Calvin. His eagerness to placate the Roman Catholic element in his court, his own fondness for religious ceremonial, his need for the support of a strong organization of bishops—all these things determined his attitude.

Religious problems of Charles I.

But the nation at large, outside the court, felt very differently. The highly formalized type of religion imposed by the bishops was distasteful to many earnest men; it deterred John Milton from becoming a clergyman. The influence of strongly Protestant reformers was gradually spreading, strengthened by the newly available Authorized Version of the Bible. And the inevitable reaction against the freedom and delight of Elizabethan life had begun, in a wave of sternly sober sentiment. This same sobriety was apparent in a number of opposing groups: the Puritans, who

wished merely to cleanse the Anglican Church from within; the Presbyterians, who wanted to impose their own form of church government; and the Independents (also known as Separatists and Brownists, and surviving as Congregationalists today), who advocated real toleration, and thought that each congregation should be left free to handle its own affairs. All these sects were united in their hatred of elaborate ceremony, and in their desire to make the Church independent of the State, if not supreme over it.

Already Englishmen were grouping themselves in two parties, one of them composed of the king and his court, the powerful nobles, the country gentlemen of the north of England, the High Anglicans, and the Roman Catholics; the other of Parliament, the middle classes, the Londoners, and the religious reformers. The dividing line was nowhere clearly marked, but the conflict between the two parties was to grow sharper and sharper till it ended in civil war and the beheading of the king.

Charles I's relations with Parliament.

Charles's troubles with Parliament began in the first year of his reign. The legislators voted to the new king an insultingly inadequate appropriation, and then began to criticize his advisers, particularly Buckingham. Charles thereupon dissolved Parliament. But he was desperately in need of money, and the next year he summoned a new Parliament. It in turn postponed any grant of funds and began impeaching Buckingham, whereupon Charles angrily dismissed it. The king now tried to replenish his treasury by forcing his subjects to lend him money. The device of the forced loan was fairly successful, but it strengthened the spirit of revolt.

When Charles, still hoping for a grant of money, summoned his third Parliament in 1628, both Houses presented to him the famous Petition of Right, denouncing the forced loan and the evils attendant upon its enforcement, such as the billeting of soldiers in private homes. In order to pacify Parliament and get his grant, the king grudgingly assented to the petition.

The murder of Buckingham in the same year removed one cause of friction, but another developed in the import duties which Charles levied without Parliamentary authorization. Against these the House of Commons objected; when the baffled king sent his officers to dissolve Parliament, the excited legislators held the speaker down in his chair to prevent adjournment until they had passed three resolutions denouncing the king's High Church innovations and his import duties.

Charles, thoroughly disgusted with Parliament, now ruled for eleven years without once summoning the Houses to meet. In order to get money, he was driven to the most desperate devices, which antagonized his subjects even further. The king's counselors combed the legal records of the realm for precedents by which he could extract money from his subjects. He continued levying import duties; he set up "Forest Courts" through which certain landholders could be mulcted; he sold monopolies, or exclusive rights to deal in such necessaries as soap and beer; he bargained in titles of nobility; he forced moderately wealthy men to accept knighthood or pay a fine.

Charles I's methods of raising money without Parliament.

The most galling imposition, however, was the levying of ship money. By an old custom, coast towns were obliged

to provide ships for national defense. Charles extended this obligation to the whole country, and permitted dwellers inland to fulfill it by the payment of money. One country squire, John Hampden, refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed against him. His was made a test case; it was decided against him, by a bare majority of the judges. Ship money became one of the chief grievances against the king; and Hampden was elevated to the position of popular hero; he became one of the outstanding figures in the opposition to the king.

The Bishops' Wars.

In the meantime, the religious conflict had not languished. Charles had set up as Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the English Church, a man named Laud, a strict and obstinate executive who shared the king's High Church views and was anxious to strengthen the bishops and revive ancient ceremonial. Laud and Charles were eager to impose the episcopal system upon the Scotch Presbyterians. As a step in this direction they attempted, in 1637, to force the Scots to accept a new prayer book drawn up by Laud and full of High Anglicanism.

The opposition in Scotland was violent; the Scottish leaders framed a new Covenant in which they swore to defend their own Church. Charles temporized until the spring of 1639, in the meantime laying plans for a military invasion by which he could force his will upon the Scots. The Scots themselves were not idle, however; they too prepared for war, and their preparations under generals trained in the army of Gustavus Adolphus were much more effective than Charles's.

The two armies at last came into contact in what is known as the First Bishops' War. The war did not turn

out to be a very bloody one; only one man was killed, and he by accident.

Charles signed a truce to gain an opportunity to make better preparations for a struggle. One of his first steps was the recall of an able adviser, Thomas Wentworth, who had been governing Ireland for six years, where his bold perseverance became famous as the policy of "Thorough." Wentworth on his return to England was created Earl of Strafford. Having learned to control the Irish Parliament, he recommended to Charles that the English Parliament be summoned to vote supplies for the Scotch War.

Charles acquiesced; and in 1640, after an interim of eleven years, Parliament met. But it met in the spirit of obstinate determination to assert its own rights. The session was opened by an old lover of liberty, John Pym; following his lead the Commons prepared to present their complaints, and began negotiating with the Scots, whereupon Charles dissolved Parliament; having lasted for only three weeks, it came to be known as the Short Parliament.

Strafford now encouraged Charles in various illegal devices for procuring money. But these were not successful; when the Scots, still insisting on their ecclesiastical rights, crossed the Border in the Second Bishops' War, Charles could muster only a small, ill-equipped, untrained force to meet them.

The king's army was unable to prevent the Scotch from establishing themselves in northern England; in the face of this emergency Charles was forced to summon Parliament again, and to conclude a truce with the enemy, who were to remain in

The beginning of the Long Parliament.

England at English expense until a definite peace treaty could be signed.

When this new Parliament, known thereafter as the Long Parliament, met in November, 1640, the stage was set for an open break between the two great parties in the English nation. The Parliamentarians and religious reformers, under their leaders Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell (Hampden's cousin), realized that Strafford and Laud were the most powerful, the most dangerous men in the Royalist, High Anglican party.

Against Strafford and Laud Parliament began the attack. Charles was helpless to aid his ministers, for in the face of the Scottish invasion he could not immediately dissolve Parliament; and, later, Parliament protected itself by passing laws that it must meet at least once every three years and that it could not be dissolved without its own consent. The earl and the archbishop were both impeached; Laud was thrown into the Tower, where he languished for four years before he was finally beheaded. Strafford was marked out for immediate execution, and the last chance of saving him vanished when Queen Henrietta Maria was discovered engaged in an "Army Plot" to bring the army down from the north to rescue him from Parliament. The earl was convicted and executed in May, 1641.

In the meantime, however, dissension was breaking out in Parliament. The members of the House of Commons represented different brands of church reform, and discord soon arose among Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents. The Presbyterians, supported by able pamphleteers like John Milton (who had returned from the Continent to engage in this very struggle), attacked the

bishops and wished to see them abolished "root and branch." The more moderate Puritans opposed this extreme policy, and gave the king some support. Parliament was further distracted by a fearful uprising in Ireland, and by Charles's plots to bring an army to London to enforce his will.

Finally, in November, 1641, Parliament passed and published a "Grand Remonstrance" on the state of the realm, which was really a statement of its case against Charles. The king, encouraged by the support of his own adherents, and angered by the insolence of his enemies, retaliated by trying to force the impeachment of his five most dangerous adversaries, including Pym and Hampden; he even went in person, with an armed force at his back, to the sacred precincts of the Commons.

But the five were spirited away, and the House of Commons defied its sovereign. Charles abandoned London and prepared for civil war. The members of Parliament immediately voted for an army to support them in the struggle, and went on to pass revolutionary and Puritan legislation. Among other things, they established a strict censorship of the press, against which Milton wrote his *Areopagitica*. They also closed the theatres by law; for the radical reformers detested such entertainment, and the stage had always been closely connected with the court, had been suspected of nourishing vice and frivolity, and had constantly ridiculed the Puritan point of view. For eighteen years, from 1642 to 1660, it was illegal to present a play in England.

In August, 1642, open hostilities began. The Parliamentarians, or the Roundheads, as they came to be called

because of their close-cropped hair, were for a time at a disadvantage. There were disagreements in their own ranks; and their general aims were not clear. They did not wish to kill the king or abolish monarchy; they wanted rather to limit the king's power, and to establish their own religious sects. Their military policy was dictated only by a desultory purpose of controlling as much territory as possible. Many of their adherents and leaders were men of the middle and lower classes who had had no training in arms, and who, despite a deep moral earnestness, lacked the spirit that makes a successful game of war. Moreover, they had in the beginning no funds immediately available. But they were in possession of the ports and the sources of the income of the government.

The outbreak of the First Civil War, 1642.

The Royalists or Cavaliers, on the other hand, were united by personal loyalty to the king. Their aim was to reëstablish his supremacy by capturing London. Many of their leaders and soldiers were skilled in military tactics; there was a dash and splendor in their manner, often inherited with their noble blood, that helped them time and again to save their losing cause. It is perhaps significant that most of the great poets and prose writers of the period, with the notable exception of John Milton, were Cavalier in sympathy. There was a certain glamor about the royal cause and the royal Church that appealed to men's imaginations.

At Edgehill, the first serious battle of the war, the Cavalier supremacy convinced one of the Roundhead leaders, Oliver Cromwell, that he would have to build up a body of dependable troops, animated by some sort of

morale, before he could hope to hold his own. While desultory warfare continued, with no decisive results, Cromwell combed the countryside for recruits fit to serve in his new regiment of cavalry. He selected stern, independent, God-fearing fellows, responsible men of some position, who were willing to submit themselves to his discipline.

The success of Cromwell's new regiment in the battle of Marston Moor, 1644, made their leader one of the most important men in the Parliamentary party, for Pym and Hampden had both died in the previous year. At Marston Moor Cromwell was chiefly responsible for the Roundheads' winning of the hard-fought battle; the defeated Royalist leader, Prince Rupert, the king's nephew, gave Cromwell the nickname of "Ironsides," which was later applied to his regiment.

Cromwell's rise contributed greatly to the ultimate success of the popular party. Many men, like Milton, were learning that the intolerant Presbyterian spirit of Parliament was dangerous to the national welfare and were themselves leaning toward the Independent position. Cromwell saw that Parliamentary control of the army interfered with military success, for one element in Parliament was constantly negotiating with Charles, and narrow Presbyterian standards hampered the development of the army; in recruiting his own "Ironsides" he had gone outside the Presbyterian fold.

He therefore persuaded Parliament to pass the New Model Ordinance providing for the creation of a whole army modeled after his "Ironsides," and the Self-Denying Ordinance, which freed the army from Parliamentary control by making members of either House resign their mili-

tary commissions. It was with the New Model army that the name "Redcoats," and the Coldstream Guards and other famous regiments originated.

The New Model army (in which John Bunyan was a recruit), strongly Independent in its leanings, and commanded by Cromwell and a brilliant young officer named Fairfax, took the field against Charles and defeated him at Naseby in 1645. Charles fled, hoping for aid from Montrose, his ally in the Scottish Highlands, or from rebellious Ireland. When no aid was forthcoming, he was obliged to surrender to the Scotch in the spring of 1646. Thus the First Civil War came to an end.

With the cessation of open warfare against the Royalists, the army became more and more antagonistic to Parliament (which still hoped to compromise with the king), and began at last to urge the complete abolition of monarchy. When the Scotch, in 1647, turned Charles over to Parliament, the army kidnaped the king and marched to London to take charge of affairs, and to assert their liberty against the Presbyterians, who wanted to permit no other sects to exist.

The king was constantly dickering with the Scots, with Parliament, and with the army, until it became apparent that no stable peace and freedom could ever be attained while he was free to plot. Just at the end of 1647 Charles signed an "Engagement" with the Scotch by which they were to restore him to his throne in return for certain concessions. As a result, the Scotch invaded England in 1648, and scattered Royalist risings took place simultaneously. The brief Second Civil War had begun.

The Second Civil War, 1648.

This was the last straw. Cromwell defeated the Scotch and the Royalists in short order, and then turned his attention to Parliament, which was still trying to come to terms with the king. In December, 1648, a detachment of soldiers under Colonel Pride drove out of Parliament all the members hostile to the army. After this high-handed act, known as "Pride's Purge," the remnant of Parliament, the "Rump," supported by the soldiers, prepared to execute justice upon the king. Charles was locked away in prison; his supporters later claimed that he wrote there a book of royal devotions, a claim which called forth Milton's *Eikonoklastes* in reply.

The Rump Parliament erected a High Court of Justice, which proceeded to try King Charles I for treason. The king acted throughout the trial with quiet dignity. Only a week after the court first met he was convicted as an enemy of the Commonwealth of England, and condemned to die. Three days later, on January 30, 1649, the king was led forth onto the scaffold. Maintaining the innocence of his cause and protesting against the illegality of his sentence, he laid his head on the block. The ax fell.

The execution of Charles I, 1649.

The feelings of the English and Continental ruling classes were unspeakably shocked by this act of a small minority. Charles's last words were true; his conviction was absolutely illegal. But something had to be done to prevent a man of his incredibly stubborn and underhand temperament from interfering with the army leaders' plans to save England. Cromwell and his followers, in bringing about Charles's execution, merely adopted the shortest, simplest method of clearing the way for their own rule.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPUBLICAN EXPERIMENT

(1649-1660)

". . . Much remains
To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than War; new foes arise
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains."

MILTON, *To the Lord General Cromwell.*

The story of the eleven years following the execution of Charles I is the story of a series of efforts to establish a republic, ending in a return to monarchy. By far the most important actor in this story was Oliver Cromwell.

Cromwell had played perhaps as large a part as anyone in defeating the Royalist armies, and in bringing about Charles's death. When England destroyed the Crown, Cromwell, the army, and the Rump Parliament were left as the three strongest agencies of government.

The Rump Parliament.

The Rump was the first to assume control. It was no more than a misshapen fragment of the Long Parliament which had been summoned nine years before; the majority of the original members, Presbyterian or Royalist in sympathies and hostile to Cromwell and the army, had been expelled in Pride's Purge. The remnant never in any sense spoke for the English people; and it became less and less representative as the national spirit recoiled from the Regicides, the slayers of King Charles I.

The Rump had no legal right to legislate for the nation. But it realized that it was in a position to save the country from a Royalist reaction, the tyranny of army rule, or the chaos of radical democracy. And so the Rump prepared to carry on. Immediately after executing Charles it abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords, declared England a Commonwealth (the first national republic in history), and appointed a Council of State to manage the government.

Literary activity under the Commonwealth.

The poet John Milton was named Latin Secretary; his duties were varied, including the writing of pamphlets to defend the republican government at home and abroad, and the composition of diplomatic letters to foreign potentates. Milton had for ten years been devoting himself to politics at the expense of his poetry, and that devotion was to last for ten years more. In fulfilling his new duties he so overstrained his eyes that he went blind, and he wrote practically no poetry except a few sonnets, in which he stated his own Independent contempt for Presbyterianism, praised certain republican leaders, and thrillingly denounced the massacre of Protestants in Piedmont.

But when his adventure in statecraft ended, he returned to his earlier love, poetry, and in his blindness composed the greatest of his works. It was the preëminence of Milton over all other writers of his day that tended to give the literature of the age a Puritanical cast. The refusal of the Puritan government to permit theatrical performances, the censorship laws, and the general disapproval of pleasure emphasized this note of Puritanism.

There was in fact a marked increase in religious spirit,

a higher seriousness, a deepened dignity in the literature of the mid-Seventeenth Century. But the Puritans were far from being solely responsible for this change; as a matter of fact very few of the important writers of the day were Puritans, with the exception of Milton and his friend and political colleague Andrew Marvell.

By far the greater number of the writers contemporary with Oliver Cromwell were Anglicans; and a few showed a marked tendency even further away from Puritanism and toward the persecuted Roman Catholic Church. Two of the greatest prose writers, Jeremy Taylor and Thomas Fuller, were Anglican clergymen; and two others, Izaak Walton and Sir Thomas Browne, were staunch lay members of the same sect. Among the greater poets, Herbert and Herrick were in holy orders, and Vaughan and Crashaw both tended toward Roman Catholicism—Crashaw so strongly that he became a convert.

The Anglican Church had been upheld by the martyred Charles I; Anglicanism was the religion of the Royalist party; and a number of brilliant writers were to be found among the Royalists and courtiers, the Cavaliers. Jeremy Taylor, who had been a chaplain in Charles's army, was deprived of his office by the Puritan government; the poet Carew, who had died before the Civil Wars, had been a courtier of Charles, and Lovelace and Suckling carried on the tradition of Cavalier poetry after him; Waller and Denham were both Royalists in sympathy. Among these writers the free vigorous spirit of Elizabeth's reign survived; and the Renaissance humanism, the delight in man and his works which had glorified the later

Tudor courts, still lingered in them, and even in Milton, particularly in his earlier, gayer poems.

Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell, the greatest soldier and statesman of the Commonwealth, though no versifier himself, was the subject of laudatory verses written by more than one poet; and in temperament he was far from being a dour enemy of art and joy. No one relished vigorous horseplay, or delighted in sport more keenly than this leader of "Ironsides." But circumstances placed him in a situation where he had little chance to indulge such tastes.

Cromwell believed in religious toleration; he permitted the Jews, exiled for centuries, to return to England; and in an age when few men conceived of permitting any Church save their own to exist, he wished to allow everyone to worship as his conscience dictated, within reasonable limits. When he was in a position of authority, he exercised little control over the Church, except in his efforts to cleanse it of base and ignorant clergymen.

Cromwell believed also in a liberal government with the people's welfare as its prime concern; but chaotic conditions forced him into despotism, by which he hoped to protect the people from their own insane desires, and to give them what they needed if not what they wanted.

Luckily for a man placed in a responsible position in those distracted times, Cromwell was an opportunist, ready to take advantage of every situation that chance presented. And the solid foundation of practical sense that underlay his passionate religious enthusiasm helped him to save the State from dissolution during the years when England was without a king. His military genius, too, was phenome-

nal; had European politics permitted, he might have won for himself a name like Alexander's or Napoleon's. As a statesman he has been criticized because he failed to detect the menace in the rising power of France, and aided the French against an already decadent Spain. His detractors point, too, to the early fall of the government which he established. But we must remember that he did, after all, establish a government out of chaos; and that he foresaw England's future needs as a colonial empire when he contemplated taking and holding Gibraltar as an English outpost.

Cromwell's ideal of a powerful, free, tolerant republic was defeated not only because it was too advanced for its day, but also because many forces and circumstances opposed it. When Charles was beheaded, he left a nation torn by civil war and financially demoralized. Rival political and religious factions were at each other's throats, and the confused state of public opinion made a direct appeal to the voters impossible. Presbyterians, Anglicans, Royalists, and Parliamentarians, all struggling and intriguing together, were all opposed to the grotesque relic of Parliament, the Rump.

Opposition to Cromwell in the British Isles.

When the Independent Rump began its constructive work by appointing a Council of State to administer the government, it found itself opposed by two extreme factions: the ultra-radical element in the army, known as Levellers; and the large body of Royalist sympathizers—Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Presbyterians, who resented their expulsion in Pride's Purge, and recoiled from king-murder.

Cromwell, practically supreme in the army, stifled the Levellers there; and had the liberalized army take the place of the intolerant Rump as the head of the State. He then set out to strike the Royalists in their chief strongholds. Ireland and Scotland had both declared for Charles's son and acknowledged him as King Charles II. To Ireland Cromwell (as commander-in-chief) led an army. By brilliant battle and savage massacre he reduced the neighboring island to such a state that the terrible tradition of his campaign still lingers there. And the Rump was able to carry out its policy of suppressing Catholicism and allotting the lands of expelled natives to Commonwealth soldiers.

Cromwell hastened to Scotland, where Prince Charles had taken refuge and had gained Scottish support by subscribing to the Covenant of Presbyterianism. Cornered by the armies of the Commonwealth, Charles was forced to retreat into England; the battle of Worcester, in 1651, destroyed his power; and only after weeks of romantic adventure was the prince himself able to escape to the Continent.

In the meantime a brilliant naval leader, Blake, was sweeping the Royalist ships from the seas and building up the Commonwealth navy. The new English State was growing stronger; and the new English statesmen saw the necessity of establishing their prestige in the eyes of neighboring nations, which had drawn back in horror from the regicide government.

Among these nations was the Netherlands. A Dutch prince was connected by marriage to the exiled Stuarts; and Holland and England had already come to blows through commercial rivalry in

Foreign affairs under Cromwell.

he East Indies, as well as through contested fishery rights n the North Sea. In 1651 the Rump struck a blow at the Dutch by passing a Navigation Act barring foreign ships from free trade in English ports; and in the following year war broke out. After suffering some reverses the Commonwealth navy under Blake finally defeated the great Dutch Admiral Van Tromp.

Cromwell, unlike his predecessor, could get from Parliament money to wage war. Having got the money, he spent it; his yearly expenditures were triple those of Charles I, and he was rapidly doubling the national debt. But the Lord Protector (for Cromwell had by this time assumed that despotic title) regretted the expense of the Dutch war, and he deplored the resultant interference with English trade; in 1654 he made peace, with the prime purpose of aiding commerce, and throughout the negotiations he put commercial ends first, winning decided advantages for English shipping.

In the same year, hostilities broke out against the Spanish, who refused to grant freedom of religion or freedom of trade to the English. Cromwell allied himself with the French; and when the war finally ended, several years later, England kept the Channel port of Dunkirk as a prize.

All during these years Cromwell was experiencing difficulty in governing England. The Rump legislators, having established the Commonwealth, promised in 1651 that they would go out of office in three years. But power was too sweet, and the Rump began planning to perpetuate itself by selecting its own new members. For Cromwell, impatient with Parliament's auto-

Cromwell's Parliaments.

cratic inefficiency, this was too much to be borne. At the head of a band of soldiers he drove the Rump away; and immediately thereafter, in 1653, the army set up a provisional council with Cromwell at its head.

The new government established a temporary assembly made up of representatives recommended by the Independent clergymen. This assembly, known variously and derisively as the Nominated, Little, or Barebones Parliament, proved to be too radical and visionary for efficiency; Cromwell's own adherents among the members finally brought about a dissolution.

The next experiment was a written constitution proposed by the army. This "Instrument of Government," the first modern written constitution and the only written constitution by which England was ever governed, established a protectorate and gave Cromwell supreme power as Lord Protector for life.

Under the Instrument Cromwell summoned the first Protectorate Parliament in 1654. Unfortunately many of the members turned out to be so dissatisfied with the Instrument that they had to be expelled from the House, and when the remainder in turn began tampering with the constitution, Cromwell was forced to dismiss them in 1655.

Cromwell now wielded a power more absolute than Charles I had ever dreamed of; circumstances had made a despot of the people's champion. Royalist disturbances forced the Protector to divide the country into ten military districts, each governed by a Major General with strict orders to maintain peace and enforce the Puritan code. By

this means order was preserved; the distaste of the people for army and Puritan rule was also aggravated.

In 1656, needing money for the Spanish war, Cromwell called a second Protectorate Parliament, from which his opponents were excluded. The reaction against the army and towards monarchy was growing stronger; the rule of the Major Generals was discontinued, and in 1657 Parliament offered Cromwell the kingly crown. For reasons best known to himself, the man who might have been King Oliver I refused; he accepted instead the title of Hereditary Protector, king in all but name. A second House, a potential House of Lords, was reëstablished; but intrigues and opposition grew stronger than ever, until in 1658 the Protector was forced to dissolve this Parliament too. A few months later, worn out by labor, illness, and personal grief, Oliver Cromwell died.

His son, Richard Cromwell, a pleasant country squire, succeeded him as Hereditary Lord Protector. But Richard found himself in a position where he was powerless to make any effective moves; he was no man to withstand the growing spirit of discontent, or to block the series of swift steps that were to take England back to Stuart monarchy. His first Parliament survived only a few months and accomplished nothing; when it was dissolved, the old Rump, expelled six years previously, was recalled, Richard's services were no longer needed, his own sense of humor was too keen to permit him to retain an office in which he was uncomfortable, and he was allowed to go into peaceful retirement. The army, still greedy for power, found the Rump legislators as hard to deal with

Richard Cromwell.

as ever; during their years out of office they had not learned the lesson that the exiled Prince Charles Stuart was learning —that half a loaf is better than no bread.

The return to monarchy.

At the end of 1659 after a temporary dissolution the Rump was again recalled, and the time was now ripe for England to retrace the last steps back to its pre-Commonwealth status. In the meantime a new figure had arisen to hasten the process. General Monck, an efficient soldier who had had long experience in fighting under England's various rulers during the preceding twenty years, was at this time in command of the army in Scotland. Feeling that the nation was ready to return from army rule to the rule of law, he led his soldiers south to London to enforce the change.

His first step was to readmit to the Rump those members who had been expelled in Pride's Purge eleven years previously. The Long Parliament of 1640 was thus revived; by its own ruling, only the Long Parliament could bring the Long Parliament to an end; so, with much resentment, it proceeded to dissolve itself, first providing for the summoning of a new "Convention" Parliament. The republican government had collapsed as a result of economic discontent, dissension among the supporters of the Commonwealth, and the inherent desire of the English people for a king. The way was at last clear for the restoration of a Stuart monarch.

The restoration of the Stuart monarchy.

Monck in the meantime had been negotiating with Charles. Wisely counseled by his adviser Hyde (later Earl of Clarendon) the Stuart prince issued the Declaration of Breda, in which he offered amnesty, liberty, security and remuner-

ation to everybody, leaving the details to Parliament. This was all that was needed; the Convention met, and a month later, on May 25, 1660, Charles II, having been proclaimed king, landed in Dover, home from his travels at last.

England's noble twenty years' experiment in civil war and republican government had finally collapsed. But the attempt was not completely fruitless, and even in its collapse it left permanent marks upon the English nation. For one thing, army rule and Puritan rule were permanently discredited. So also was regal tyranny; the fundamental necessity of government by law was established. Englishmen had learned that neither the Church nor the Crown could divorce itself from Parliament and rule alone.

The conception of tolerance, the grand ideal of the great Protector's heart, had at last penetrated the English consciousness. The anti-Puritan church of the Restoration was never to be as intolerant as Puritanism, or as the earlier church of Laud. The many sects which Cromwell permitted to thrive were the source from which sprang the healthy non-conformity and dissent of later days.

And the republican government, on its death bed, permitted the restoration of the Stuart kings, the establishment of the modern English monarchy.

MAP IV

MODERN GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER IX

THE RESTORATION AND THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

(1660-1689)

"Henceforth a series of new time began;
The mighty years in long procession ran;
Once more the godlike David was restored,
And willing nations knew their lawful lord."

DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitophel.*

On May 25, 1660, as Samuel Pepys tells us in his diary, Charles II landed in Dover. The restoration of a monarchial form of government marked a new era in English history. Ardent Royalists might pretend that Charles had been king ever since the execution of his father. But the fact was that for eleven years England had had no king, while the Commonwealth experiment was being tried. And in 1660 an English Parliament, as the supreme governing body in the State, created the kingdom anew, and summoned a king as chief executive.

Political significance of the Restoration.

The 1660 "Convention" Parliament was a freely elected body, consisting of moderate Presbyterian Roundheads with a strong admixture of Cavaliers. Active Royalists, "Malignants," as they were called, were not permitted to sit in the new assembly, although they had a voice in the election of members.

The principles on which this Parliament created Charles

II king of England were not perfect; the legislative and executive arms of the government were still rivals and had not learned to work together for the national good; the king's ministers had not yet discovered that they were servants of the people, dependent on the House of Commons and responsible to it for their conduct. And even the imperfect 1660 principles of a tolerant and limited monarchy were not to be maintained without a struggle; a reaction toward absolutism and intolerance followed the Restoration. But in 1688 a bloodless revolution overthrew James II, Charles's reactionary successor, and reëstablished the principles of 1660 as fundamental in the unwritten Constitution of England.

Superficially English society underwent a great change when the Stuarts returned to the royal palace of Whitehall.

Restoration society.

Puritan sober-seriousness went out of style, and the neglected cult of pleasure became the chief business of the court. The theatres, closed by Parliament eighteen years before, were reopened in 1660 when two playhouses were licensed, one under the patronage of James, Duke of York (Charles's brother and heir), the other under the king himself. In the dramatic revival that followed, bombastic rimed tragedies and brutal, brilliant comedies occupied the stage. Shakespeare's profound knowledge of the human soul did not appeal to a generation that admired the heartless cynicism of Wycherley; Shakespeare's free play of imagination seemed grotesque to an audience brought up on classical French drama. As a result, the works of our greatest playwright were ignored, or remodeled to suit the new fashions.

Interest in non-dramatic literature as well as in the

theatre flourished in the Restoration court. One reason for this was the prevalent system of literary patronage; Seventeenth Century writers made their greatest profits not out of the sale of their published works and of testimonial advertisements, but from the gifts of rich and influential patrons. An author who dedicated his work to a prominent nobleman or politician might expect a substantial gift or a profitable government position in return. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand why the poet Dryden in 1658 lamented the death of Oliver Cromwell, and in 1660 fervidly hailed the bright-starred return of Charles II. It was this same Dryden who, having lost court favor a generation later, began the attack on the system of patronage when he published by popular subscription his great translation of Vergil; the last shot in the battle was not fired until after the middle of the next century, when Dr. Samuel Johnson spurned the interest of Lord Chesterfield in his *Dictionary*.

The Restoration courtiers were interested in literature not only as patrons but also as writers. At the suggestion of the king himself, some of his nobles assisted in the creation of a new type of tragedy, the heroic play; and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in his brilliant *Rehearsal* satirized this same type.

The court had other serious interests beside literature. Purcell, the greatest of English composers and the writer of England's first opera, *Dido and Æneas,* was organist of Charles's royal chapel. Boyle's Law in physics we owe to the brother of one of the court nobles who originated the heroic play. The king, whose mind was sparkling and eager, though ill-trained, encouraged scientific investigation.

The Royal Society, founded for this purpose in 1645, was reëstablished under Charles II's patronage; it carried on the tradition of inductive experiment for which Sir Francis Bacon, the great philosopher and essayist of the previous age, had given his life; Bacon had died of a cold contracted when he stuffed a dead chicken with snow as an experiment in refrigeration. Of the Royal Society Pepys was at one time president; its greatest member during the Stuart era was Sir Isaac Newton, whose falling apple revealed the law of gravity and whose prism resolved light into its seven primary colors—Newton, on whose moonlit statue the youthful poet Wordsworth gazed, a century later:

> ". . . Newton with his prism and silent face,
> The marble index of a mind for ever
> Voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone."

There is, however, a darker side to the picture of Restoration society. Behind the splendid pageantry and the glittering wit, behind the boisterous merry making and the brilliant intellectualism, lay moral chaos. The intense vitality and the vigorous imaginative and spiritual life of the Elizabethan age were dead. Self-interest, exhibited in calculated lust, greed, and cruelty, was the courtiers' code of the day. Even though the picture of contemporary life presented in Restoration comedy is doubtless overdrawn, the reality was shocking enough. The Duke of Buckingham, for instance, the "Zimri" of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel,* seduced Lady Shrewsbury and then killed her husband in a duel, while the lady, disguised as a page, held her lover's horse and looked on.

In a society where such things occurred, Puritanism was

a jest. Samuel Butler put the jest in verse when he mocked the Puritans in *Hudibras*. But Puritanism still lived as a vital element in national life; our so-called "Blue Laws" of today are a lingering evidence of this fact. The Puritan churches survived, and their spirit permeated the restored Anglican Church. And two of the noblest literary expressions of Puritanism date from Charles II's reign—Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* one written by an aged and blinded relic of the Commonwealth, the other by a Baptist tinker imprisoned for unlicensed preaching.

Such writing, however, was not popular at court; and on the writers there shone no rays of the king's favor. Charles II had no interest in Biblical epics and religious allegories; and Charles directed or expressed the tastes of Restoration society. If Charles's great ally, the French King Louis XIV, *was* the State, Charles himself was the Court.

The accession of Charles II.

Aged thirty at the time of his restoration, Charles, like many of his Royalist followers, had spent ten years in France. There he had learned to love the polished splendor of French culture; there he had developed his natural love of pleasure, his natural moral insensibility. Tall, charming, fond of exercise and sport, Charles made an art of self-indulgence. "He delighted in a bewitching kind of pleasure called sauntering." The king set the standard for his court's debauchery; his many mistresses included the famous Lady Castlemaine and the actress Nell Gwyn. These ladies were rewarded by having their royal offspring elevated to the peerage; the rebellious Duke of Monmouth, Charles's

illegitimate son, was the product of an early amour; the Dukes of St. Albans sprang from Nell Gwyn; and the ducal houses of Grafton, Richmond, and Buccleugh had a similar origin.

However, Charles's easy-going nature, combined with a sense of humor, had its advantages; in an age of fierce animosities it helped him to steer a middle course; in a reign beset with dangerous crises it enabled him to bide his own time patiently. Like the pine tree, he could always bend and bow down before the prevailing wishes of his subjects. But he never broke. It was Charles, at heart a Roman Catholic, who first allowed the Jews, admitted into England by Cromwell, to open a synagogue in London, and who, after intriguing with the Catholics for two decades, cheerfully gave up all hope of reëstablishing Catholicism as the national religion.

This indolent, pleasure-loving disposition of the king served as a perfect mask for his ceaseless plots and intrigues. Charles II was in fact one of the most brilliant examples of unprincipled ability that England has ever seen. In one way he surpassed even Queen Elizabeth; she deluded her statesmen by mystifying them, but rarely did Charles even arouse the suspicions of his.

The central motive in Charles's policy was his determination to keep his crown and his head, or, as he quaintly put it, "not to go on his travels again." The bitter experiences of his youth had fixed that resolve in his mind, and he never forgot it. His methods of effecting his aim were two—to avoid the mistakes of illegal taxation and religious stubbornness that had ruined his father, and to buttress his regal position as strongly as possible with foreign and

with ecclesiastical support. With luck, with his own very amenable disposition, and with the secret help of Louis XIV, Charles accomplished his purpose by the first of these methods; after Charles's death, an over-emphasis on the last method cost James II his crown.

The work of the Convention Parliament of 1660.

The Convention Parliament of 1660 which recalled Charles was in general sensible and moderate in its steps to restore order. Of course it made some mistakes, notably in reënacting the Navigation Act, which placed foreign shipping at a disadvantage, and antagonized the Dutch, and also the Scotch and Irish; the political union with Scotland and Ireland was dissolved, and these two became separate states subject to the English king. But the established standing army, which had played an outstanding part in the republican experiment and which had become a stench in the nostrils of all Englishmen, was paid and practically disbanded; only a few regiments survived for foreign service, and Charles was permitted to keep one, the magnificent Life Guards, for personal protection against fanatical "Fifth Monarchy Men," who wanted to assist the second coming of Christ by violent methods. The navy, which had won great glory for the Commonwealth, was retained; James, Duke of York, was made Lord Admiral, and Samuel Pepys did efficient service as Secretary of the Navy.

In taking vengeance on the defeated republicans the Restoration government was exceedingly mild; there was very little bloodshed, only thirteen regicides being executed. The Crown signified its willingness to let bygones be bygones, and an attempt was made to heal the wounds of civil

war by an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, which restored confiscated lands to their owners, but permitted new purchasers to retain property which they had bought at private sales from impoverished Royalists.

Rise of the gentry.

One effect of the Restoration was to give the country gentleman a dominant position in English social and political life. Although agriculture suffered a severe setback, due among other causes to the unsettled ownership of land, England was still a predominantly rural state. Aside from London with its half-million inhabitants there were only four towns whose population exceeded ten thousand. Royalist gentlemen who returned to their old country estates, and Commonwealth men who held their new ones, owned a considerable portion of English land and constituted the most influential class in rural society. When the Restoration government appointed these men Justices of the Peace, and put them in charge of their local militia, the gentry came to occupy distinguished positions in their districts. These petty potentates, conservative, hearty lovers of the land, were destined to play a significant part in national politics, and to contribute to literature characters such as Squire Western and Mr. Allworthy in Fielding's *Tom Jones*.

The Cavalier Parliament.

Shortly after the Restoration, the Convention Parliament came to an end. Its successor, the so-called "Cavalier" Parliament, destined to survive until 1679, was distinctly reactionary in tone; it contained a large number of Anglicans and Royalists who resented the loss of their lands, and the lingering vestiges of republican power. These Cavaliers began their session by taking Communion according to the Anglican forms;

they then commanded the common hangman to burn the Solemn Covenant of the Presbyterians, and set out to undo all the constructive work of the Puritan government. They were strengthened in their loyalty to Charles II by a new doctrine of passive obedience to the Crown, based not on the theory of divine right but on the principle of Hobbes's *Leviathan,* which maintained that all subjects, by an implied contract with their ruler, turned over their individual rights to him.

The Restoration Religious Settlement.

The Cavaliers in the new Parliament found the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion so distasteful because of its moderate tone that they called it the "Act of indemnity to the king's enemies and oblivion to his friends." Their attempt to repeal it failed; but Parliament proceeded to pass a series of four acts destined to reduce the large Presbyterian element in the nation to an unimportant place in politics and society; the Independents had already been weakened in the course of the events that brought about the fall of the Protectorate. The four acts were known as the Clarendon Code; Clarendon, the adviser of Charles II and the father of Anne Hyde, James's first wife, was Lord Chancellor when they were passed. They established Anglicanism as the national church, forbade all other forms of public worship, and excluded from political, educational, and ecclesiastical activity all men who refused to conform to the state religion.

A fifth of the clergymen in England, however, refused to yield to the newly reëstablished Anglican Church and were ousted. Split up among many Protestant sects like the Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians, they made up with

their followers a large opposition body, roughly classified as Nonconformists or Dissenters, which has kept up religious competition in England during the two and a half centuries that Anglicanism has remained the state religion.

In addition, there developed a split in the Established Church itself, which formed two parties, Low Church and High Church. The Low Churchmen, or Latitudinarians, believed in a broad tolerant church, opposed the absolute power of the king, and loosely associated themselves with the political standards of the urban middle classes, and of the political party that came to be called Whig. The High Churchmen favored a church strict in creed and organization, supported the royal supremacy, and allied themselves with the courtiers and the Tory party in politics.

Just at the time when the Cavalier Parliament completed its attempt to settle the religious problems of the nation, two great blows fell upon England. London was then as now the center of national life—London with its immense and crowded population, its narrow medieval streets, its quaint and beautiful buildings, its rich shipping and varied industries,—London with its disreputable district, Whitefriars; its ancient cathedral where men met in "Paul's Walk" for business and pleasure; its royal palace, Whitehall. And on London in 1665 descended for the last time the great plague. Thousands died in the streets, while the frightened citizens sealed themselves in their houses or fled to the country to escape contamination. In Defoe's pretended journal of the plague year, written half a century later, we have a vivid if imaginative picture of the grotesque and horrible circumstances of the epidemic.

London in the Restoration period.

A year later the second blow fell; a great fire swept the city. Pepys in his diary gives us a first-hand account of this catastrophe; Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* treats the same subject in verse. But the fire was not without its beneficent effects; it wiped out the foul airless slums where plagues had bred; and in the rebuilding of the city, streets were widened and straightened. One of the greatest of English architects, Sir Christopher Wren, made a permanent contribution to the city's beauty when he superintended the rebuilding of Saint Paul's Cathedral and of some fifty parish churches.

But the great fire was not the only circumstance that led Dryden to call 1666 the "Wonderful Year." England was for a second time involved in a naval war with the Dutch; in 1664 the English had seized the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam and given it to James, Duke of York, rechristening it New York. The war reached its climax when the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames itself and set fire to the English shipping. A temporary peace was established in 1667; but five years later a third round in the series of Dutch wars was fought.

Charles II's foreign relations.

The English and the Dutch were fundamentally sympathetic in their Protestantism and in their fear of French aggression; commercial rivalry was the chief cause of the recurring friction between them. But the English king Charles II was at heart neither Protestant nor anti-French. The secret aim of his foreign policy was to strengthen his own throne by reëstablishing the Roman Catholic Church in England and by securing French support. Fortunately

for Charles, a peculiar situation in European politics made his help invaluable to the French king.

France was at this time governed by the great Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch, the Sun King. This ruler was anxious to carry on the expansive policies of two great French statesmen, Cardinal Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarin. His hope was to take advantage of the languishing power of Spain and to extend his own borders to the Alps and the Pyrenees.

The first step in Louis's plan involved the conquest of the Spanish possessions (roughly, modern Belgium and Luxemburg) in the Netherlands, to which Louis had some slight claim through his Spanish wife. The French king was immensely powerful; he had an income double that of Charles II, and he could put an army of two hundred thousand men in the field. But even with such a force he hesitated to embark on an imperialistic policy which would drive England into war against him. He decided therefore to bribe Charles into keeping England neutral.

Charles was left with a very difficult hand to play. He was naturally sympathetic toward the French, having spent much of his youth in exile among them. Moreover he was bound to France by his marriage to the barren Catharine of Braganza, whose family were French allies. He was eager for Louis's Roman Catholic help, and very eager for Louis's money. But the English people were naturally hostile to France, a state that was stamping out the French Protestants, the Huguenots. They hated to see this aggressive foreign power establish itself in the Netherlands, just across the Channel; similarly in 1914 England feared and hated the German aggressions in Belgium.

The free Dutch states (corresponding to the modern Holland), next door to the contested Spanish Netherlands, likewise resented Louis's dangerous advance; the English and Dutch were logical allies against France. Fortunately for Charles's personal designs, however, commercial rivalry kept England and Holland antagonistic to each other; it was Holland that still prevented England from being the undisputed mistress of the seas. Even though a brilliant English diplomat, Sir William Temple (the recipient of Dorothy Osborne's delightful love letters), engineered a great Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden against France, Charles was able to support Louis. In 1670 he signed a secret Treaty of Dover (sealed by his acceptance of a new French mistress) by which he promised Louis to restore Roman Catholicism and to give aid against the Dutch; he masked this agreement behind a sham treaty which said nothing about religion; he left the Dutch at Louis's mercy when the French attacked them. Only the heroism of the Dutch defenders, who cut the dykes and let in the ocean upon their low-lying country, drowning out the invader, saved them from French conquest. And when Charles at last discovered that he could not hope to drive his subjects back into the Roman Church, he cheerfully abandoned that aim and went on accepting French bribes as the price of English neutrality.

Charles II's attempt to restore Roman Catholicism.

In his attitude toward domestic affairs, as in his foreign relations, the king's sympathy for Roman Catholicism was an important element. Clarendon, after seven years' faithful service as chief adviser to Charles, was dismissed in 1667, partially because he could not get on with Parliament,

which blamed him not only for the Dutch war but for the plague and the great fire! His place was taken by an intimate council of five members, two of whom were Roman Catholics; this group, because of its secret nature, was known as the "Cabal"; incidentally, the initials of its members happened to spell the same word.

Charles at this time still hoped to restore Roman Catholicism. The intolerant provisions of the Clarendon Code had penalized Catholics as well as Protestant Dissenters; Charles now had the brilliant idea of winning the Dissenters' hearts at the same time that he favored the Catholics by issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, relieving all nonconformers—Catholics as well as Dissenters—from punishment.

Against this Popish menace the Cavalier Parliament, conservative and Anglican in its temper, raised such objections that Charles withdrew his Declaration. Not yet satisfied, Parliament passed the famous Test Act, which required all office holders to take Communion in the Anglican Church and to disavow the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Of course some hypocritical nonconformists kept their offices by submitting to the letter of the law—"occasional conformity," this came to be called—but all conscientious Dissenters and Catholics were excluded from participation in the government.

The earl of Shaftesbury, a member of the Cabal, had supported the Test Act; as a result he was dismissed from office, and the Cabal fell. Shaftesbury, a brilliant, unscrupulous politician, "a fiery soul . . . a daring pilot in extremity," not having been told of the Treaty of Dover, a measure of which he disapproved

The birth of political parties.

went over to the opposition; he collected the tolerant, anti-court, middle-class factions in national politics into a loose "Country Party," the members of which later came to be known as "Whigs," a slang term for Scotch Covenanters; the Liberal party in Twentieth Century English politics is descended from the Whigs.

Although there had been political factions and opposing groups before this time, there had been no system of established political parties like our own Republicans and Democrats. The party system in England had its first beginnings in Shaftesbury's day; he also introduced the custom of making an election a real event with bonfires and horseplay, thereby arousing the popular interest which is so essential to the success of representative government. Shaftesbury's activities against the Crown finally won for him the bad eminence which Dryden ascribed to him in the character of Achitophel.

When the Cabal fell, the king at once called upon Danby, his new chief adviser, to set about building up a loyal political party made up of courtiers and High Churchmen, to counteract Shaftesbury's Whigs; this second party (known as Conservative today) came to be called Tory, a term originally applied to Irish outlaws. Danby also organized a magnificent system of political bribery, which helped him to keep Parliament fairly subservient to the Crown; it had not yet occurred to the minister that he himself was primarily the servant of Parliament rather than of the king, though Parliament impressed this fact upon him a few years later when it impeached him despite his plea that he had obeyed royal orders.

The conflict between the political parties, and the wide-

spread fear of Catholicism and royal absolutism, kept the nation in such a state of unrest that Charles tried to enforce quiet by closing the coffee-houses. These meeting places for entertainment and gossip had been introduced only recently, but they proved so popular that three thousand were in existence by the end of the century. At this time, when the new "flying coach" had just established the record of thirteen hours for the fifty-four mile trip between London and Oxford, when baggage had to be transported by pack horses on the back roads, and highwaymen preyed upon travelers, news was transmitted very slowly, and such newspapers as there were had only a limited circulation. The centers of political discussion were the coffee-houses, where men dropped in to drink, chat, write letters, play cards, and carry on business. And so popular were these informal clubs that the king was forced to revoke his order closing them.

National antipathy to Roman Catholicism.

The agitation against Catholics continued; there was indeed new cause for worry. Charles II had fathered many illegitimate children, but his queen remained barren. The heir to the throne was therefore the king's brother, James Stuart, Duke of York. James's first wife Anne Hyde, had died, leaving him two Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne. James thereupon married the Catholic Mary of Modena, and two years later, in 1676, openly professed his own adherence to the Roman Church. Although the fear of a Catholic succession was somewhat relieved by the marriage of his heir, his Protestant daughter Mary, to her Protestant cousin William of Orange, the young and able ruler of the Dutch states, there remained the possibility

that a Catholic male heir might be born from James's second marriage.

Just at this time the disclosure of the notorious Popish Plot added new fuel to the fire. Titus Oates, a vicious scoundrel, announced that he had discovered a plot of the Catholics to reëstablish their Church in England by stirring up an Irish Catholic rebellion, murdering the king, burning London again (some had blamed the Catholics for the great fire of 1666), and setting the Duke of York on the throne. At the same time it was discovered that Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary, had been corresponding with the French Jesuits, an aggressive Roman Catholic society.

The Popish Plot.

The discovery of the plot, most of which originated on the false tongue of Titus Oates, threw England into a panic. The mysterious murder of Godfrey, the magistrate in whose hands Oates's charges had been placed, added to the terror. And the clever Shaftesbury saw in this situation a chance to vent his spleen against the court party and the royal family. Exaggerating the danger, he surrounded himself with a bodyguard of Whig thugs, his "brisk boys," who bullied all men suspected of Catholic sympathies. London was in a state of ferment; no one knew when or where the Jesuit "fire-balls" would fall, and shop keepers sold "Protestant flails" with which the citizens might protect themselves from the enemy.

In the face of this crisis the Cavalier Parliament became suspicious of the king himself. This Parliament had now been sitting for sixteen years; gradual changes in its membership had decreased the loyal Cavalier spirit, and the House of Commons now passed a bill that all tax measures

should originate with them and not be altered by the Lords. Charles was compelled to disband a standing army which he had raised, and the Test Act was stiffened.

The king attempted to maintain a neutral position in the struggle, but unfortunately his ambassador to France, Edward Montagu, chose this moment to reveal the secret intercourse between Louis XIV and Charles. Danby was incriminated by the disclosure, and Parliament immediately started to impeach him, turning a deaf ear to his plea that he had acted merely in obedience to the king.

Seeing no other way to save his minister, Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament. When a new Parliament met, it continued the impeachment and put Danby in the tower. Then, imbued with a strong love of freedom, it passed the Habeas Corpus Act, protecting the personal liberty of the individual citizen.

The Whig opposition now centered its attack on the Duke of York by presenting an Exclusion Bill, which would keep him from the throne. A more moderate group sought in vain to compromise on a bill limiting James's powers in the event he became king; finally in order to protect his brother's right to the succession, Charles was forced to adjourn Parliament.

Immediately the Whigs flooded him with petitions to reopen the session. Against these "Petitioners" the Tories ranged themselves as "Abhorrers" of the petitions.

In the meantime the ghastly persecution of the Catholics, which had led to many executions, was beginning to wane. The Whigs had over-played their hand, and a reaction was setting in. When Parliament met again in 1680, although there was still enough anti-Popish spirit to burn the Pope

in effigy, the executions ended, and the House of Lords defeated a second Exclusion Bill.

Charles, however, was unable to get the Whig opposition to accept his bill permitting James to succeed with limited powers; he therefore dissolved Parliament, and summoned a new Parliament to assemble in Oxford, not daring to permit a meeting in London, a Whig stronghold. But the Oxford Parliament proved even more intractable than its predecessor, and was forthwith dissolved. For the remaining four years of his reign Charles governed without a Parliament; he was enabled to do so by the continued grants of French money which rendered him independent.

Shaftesbury's Monmouth plot.

Shaftesbury, balked in his other schemes, now pretended that Charles's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, was in fact the fruit of a secret marriage, and the legitimate heir to the throne. But the king, who favored the Duke of York, was at last in a position to strike back. His subjects, tired of Whig excesses, rallied about him; he was no longer hampered by Parliament; in fact, the terms on which he had been restored in 1660 seemed forgotten, and a return to the pre-Commonwealth Stuart absolutism to be imminent. Shaftesbury was accused of treason, and the plan in which he had made a dupe of Monmouth was held up to public scorn in the *Absalom and Achitophel* of Dryden, the court poet. A Whig jury acquitted Shaftesbury, and the Whigs struck a medal to celebrate the event. Dryden answered with his *Medal,* and went on to pillory the Whig poet Shadwell in *MacFlecknoe.* And Shaftesbury, to escape the royal wrath, fled to exile in Holland, where he died.

The discovery of the Rye House plot to kill Charles added

to the king's power, and he set out to punish London for its Whig temper, and to strengthen his own position even further. By the legal procedure known as Quo Warranto Charles recalled the charters of many English cities and forced the municipalities to remove Whig officials and to submit to royal control in the appointment of new representatives. It was easy for the government to know what men could be trusted, as there had been found among Shaftesbury's papers lists of "men worthy" and "men worthy to be hanged."

The death of Charles II, 1685.

And then, just at the climax of his triumph, on February 2, 1685, Charles II was stricken by apoplexy. For four days only he survived. Then this indolent pleasure-seeker died, having for twenty-five years, partly by deception and partly by gracious acquiescence to the inevitable, deceived a nation and built up an all-powerful throne. His last act was one of submission to the Roman Catholic Church; his last words were a plea to his successor to be kind to Nell Gwyn, and a humorous apology for spending "such an unconscionable time in dying."

The accession of James II, 1685.

Charles's brother and successor, James II, was a stubborn, uninspiring sort of fellow. He was fortunate in coming to the throne just when the Royalist reaction was at its height; this coincidence, combined with his efficient service as Lord Admiral and his presumably steady character, strengthened his position enormously and went a long way toward offsetting his Roman Catholicism. James was further favored by a split in the ranks of the opposition; some of the ultra-Protestant Whigs supported the new king's son-in-law,

William of Orange; but others still favored James's illegitimate nephew, Monmouth. The new Parliament, predominantly loyal, granted James a fine income, and denounced the rebellious Monmouth.

Monmouth himself now took a hand in affairs and began a struggle in which he was later defeated and beheaded; strangely enough, however, Monmouth's fall brought about the eventual collapse of James himself. Assisted by the Duke of Argyle in Scotland (where Charles II and his representatives, James and Claverhouse, had alienated the majority of the people by their bloody persecutions of Presbyterian Covenanters), Monmouth attempted an armed rebellion in England. But the people refused to rally to his standard; his little army was defeated by the king's loyal troops; and the two rebellious leaders were executed.

Monmouth's rebellion.

This success turned James's head; he believed that the time had come in which he could wipe out opposition and establish his own Church, the Roman Catholic, in England. He sent out a cruel judge, Jeffrey, to travel over the nation and try the rebels; in that "Bloody Circuit" a horrible vengeance was taken for Monmouth's rising; women were scourged, beheaded, and burned for merely harboring rebels.

James II's fatal missteps

The king proceeded to build up a standing army, and attempted to repeal the Habeas Corpus and Test Acts. When Parliament objected to these steps, it was adjourned. Then in a test case, the trial of Hales, James persuaded his subservient judges to declare that the king himself had a right to suspend the Test Act, and to remove its ban on Roman Catholic office-holders.

Proceeding on this assumption, the king distributed government jobs right and left among his religious sympathizers; many of his courtiers were converted to Catholicism, among them the poet Dryden, who had defended the Anglican Church in his *Religio Laici* five years previously, and who now upheld his new religion in *The Hind and the Panther.*

The great majority of Englishmen, however, were still strongly Protestant; James's mad policy was destined to ruin him before long. It happened that just at this time Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes which had protected French Huguenots, and began persecuting these Protestants. Thousands of them fled to England, enriching their new home with their knowledge of trades and handicrafts, and strengthening the anti-Catholic prejudices of the Englishmen. Monmouth's death, too, enabled all the opposition to unite in support of William of Orange; and a Dutch diplomat, Dykevelt, came to England in 1687 to strengthen his master's cause.

The stubborn James, however, rushed madly on toward disaster. He had already created an Ecclesiastical Commission (similar to Queen Elizabeth's detested High Commission) to carry out his Catholic policies in the national church; by an illegal Declaration of Indulgence he had favored the Catholics (and incidentally won the support of the tolerant Quaker, William Penn). He now antagonized the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge by forcing them to accept Romanists in important positions.

His next step was to dissolve his Parliament, which had become antagonistic, and to attempt to pack a new Parliament with his own supporters. When he found that this

would be impossible, he prepared for an armed struggle by strengthening his standing army with Irish soldiers; and he took steps to convert Ireland into a Catholic stronghold whither he might flee if his plans in England went amiss.

By the year 1688 James had goaded his subjects to desperation, and in this year two events occurred which drove them to depose him. A son and heir was born to James, ensuring a Catholic succession (although the opposition claimed that the baby did not belong to the royal couple at all, but was being palmed off as theirs for political purposes). And the king reissued his Declaration of Indulgence and commanded the clergy to read it in church. The clergy refused, and seven bishops presented a protest to James—a protest which he denounced as the "standard of rebellion." The king ordered the bishops to be tried for libel, but the sympathies of the nation were overwhelmingly against him, and the acquittal of the bishops was the signal for universal rejoicing.

The Glorious Revolution.

Practically the whole nation was now opposed to the king; and a group of leading Whigs and Tories combined to invite William of Orange, who was James's nephew as well as his son-in-law, to come to England and be their king. William was at first unwilling to embark upon such an expedition, fearing that it would precipitate a French attack. But Louis XIV at this moment made the fatal mistake of entering into a campaign against Germany, and William was left free to accept the English invitation.

James at last realized his danger and attempted to redeem himself by reversing his unpopular acts. But it was too late. In November, 1688, William landed in England. James's little army melted away; he himself was incapaci-

tated by a violent nose bleed; and even his second daughter, Anne, deserted him. The king sent his wife and infant son to France for safe-keeping; that son, Prince James, the "Old Pretender," was destined to cause much trouble in his later efforts to win the crown. The king himself now attempted to escape, first burning the writs that would summon Parliament and dropping the great seal of the nation into the Thames, in a childish attempt to embarrass his successor; but he was caught by some fishermen and brought back to London.

The king's capture, however, was the last thing that William wanted; he hated to make a martyr of James, and he saw that his own problems would be simplified by getting his father-in-law out of the country. So he opened a new avenue of escape; the old king, nothing loath, took advantage of it and fled to France.

William was now established in London; a Convention Parliament, early in 1689, declared that the king had broken his contract with the people, and had on the advice of the Jesuits, abdicated, leaving his throne vacant. This ingenious explanation pleased all parties—the Whigs, who believed in a contract between ruler and subjects; the Protestants; and the Tories, who felt that it was wrong to depose a sovereign.

Parliament then issued a great Declaration of Right, restating the principles of 1660, limiting the sovereign's power, safeguarding the liberties of the people, and affirming the authority of Parliament. On February 13, 1689, William III and his wife Mary, daughter of the exiled James II, were proclaimed joint sovereigns of England.

This "Glorious Revolution" was accomplished without

the loss of any blood save that which flowed from the nostrils of the ill-fated James. The theory of Divine Right and the pretensions of the Roman Catholic Church were crushed. The Restoration principles of a modern constitutional state—the principles of religious toleration and of a monarchy limited by representative government and by the rights of the governed—were reaffirmed. But these principles had not yet been worked out in practice; and the problem of effecting that working out fell to the succeeding sovereigns.

CHAPTER X

THE LAST STUARTS

(1689-1714)

"All, all of a piece throughout:
Thy chase had a beast in view;
Thy wars brought nothing about;
Thy lovers were all untrue.
'Tis well an old age is out,
And time to begin a new."

DRYDEN, *Secular Masque.*

In 1689 William III and Mary ascended the throne of England as joint monarchs. Mary, in her devotion to her husband, yielded her share of power unreservedly into his hands; even before she died, in 1694, he was practically sole ruler; and for eight years after her death he reigned in desolate solitude.

The accession of William III and Mary, 1689.

William was first of all the defender of Protestant Europe against Catholic France; his interest in England was only secondary. It was in order to gain England as an ally that he had accepted the crown. But the English people saw the matter in a very different light; William's Continental projects awakened no passionate concern in their breasts; William was, after all, a foreigner—a Dutchman; though brilliantly able, particularly as a diplomat, he was a dour, sickly sort of fellow who warmed no hearts; and his new subjects (especially the conservative Tory landholders, the country squires who would gain nothing

through foreign entanglements) were somewhat disposed to let him fight his own battles. Despite all these disadvantages, however, he was the last great king of England.

The attention of Englishmen was concentrated on their own domestic problems. The Glorious Revolution had reaffirmed the principles of 1660, and had shown men finally and unmistakably that the king must not ignore Parliament (as Charles I had done) or dominate it (as Charles I's sons had done). No, the king was in the future to be a creature of Parliament, deriving his power from it and acting as its executive agent; and Parliament and William both knew this fact. Moreover, nonconformity was to be recognized as an element in national life. These principles seem obvious enough to us; but two and one-half centuries ago they were first dawning upon men's minds as splendid, unformulated concepts. And the question was—how to put them into practice?

The principles of the Glorious Revolution.

Parliament set to work to find a solution; for the moment it postponed the designation of a successor to William and Mary; it left the king to fight his own battles on the Continent, in Scotland, and in Ireland; it did not attempt to build up the machinery of party government, to strengthen the financial framework of the State, or to face a number of vexing social problems. All these tasks were sooner or later to be done; but first of all the legislators must look to the State and the Church.

Parliament's settlement of the problems of the Glorious Revolution.

The strange combination of Whigs and Tories which had in desperation appealed to Dutch William as a savior against James, suddenly discovered that the savior himself

was going to be a trifle difficult to handle. Parliament granted to the king, therefore, only a limited, temporary income; it was less than he wanted, and out of it he had to pay not only his own household expenses but also the salaries of civil officials. Hence the king's grant is still known as the "Civil List," though Parliament has long since relieved him of the payment of public expenses. A Mutiny Act gave the army a temporary legal status; Parliament had now made sure of being summoned frequently, for the State could not exist without treasury or army, and Parliament itself would have to meet periodically to renew the temporary royal grant and the temporary military establishment.

Another check was placed on the ruler when Parliament established the principle that he must spend national funds for specific, designated purposes only; never again would money be raised for national defense at sea and then spent on a standing army to enforce royal tyranny at home.

The Bill of Rights, passed soon after the accession of William and Mary, reaffirmed the Great Declaration of Right, which had put them on the throne. Kings were no longer to be kings by divine right; it was by virtue of the social pact, the implied contract between governors and governed, that the king was permitted to rule. This point of view was quite in accordance with the latest philosophical views, as exemplified in the writings of John Locke; the old divine-right theory was further discountenanced by the fashionable deistic philosophy, which taught that there was no personal God interested in the welfare of kings. The Bill of Rights also stipulated that the English monarch must not be a Roman Catholic, and must not even marry

a Roman Catholic. This stipulation later played an important part in determining the royal succession.

Such were the most significant measures which strengthened the constitutional basis of the English State; a few other important acts also were passed during this period. Parliament was to meet at least once every three years; the legal rights of traitors were protected; and judges were made independent of royal favor. The growing tendency to make ministers responsible to Parliament rather than to the Crown, had been indicated when the legislators impeached Danby despite his plea of a royal command; it was further illustrated by William's attempts to find ministers who could coöperate with Parliament, and by Parliament's insistence on its right to impeach ministers who misbehaved in obedience to the king's orders.

Religious problems.

The movement toward the principle of "Live and let live" in religious matters, illustrated in Locke's *Letters on Toleration,* helped to bring about a sensible solution of the religious question. By the Toleration Act, Dissenters were protected so long as they supported the Crown and renounced Catholic doctrines; Roman Catholics, Jews, and disbelievers in the Trinity were excluded from this general amnesty. The extreme stiff-necked Anglicans, called "non-jurors," who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William, were excluded from the Anglican Church; they survived for a century as an independent sect, claiming that they and they only were the true salt of the earth.

The conflicting claims of Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Dissenter were pointedly satirized by Jonathan Swift in *A Tale of a Tub,* which illustrates beautifully the skeptical

ttitude toward religion that was becoming prevalent. But ven if men's souls were no longer deeply stirred by re- igious problems, their pocketbooks were still seriously ffected by their formal religious affiliations. Roman Cath- lics suffered grievously on account of the discrimination gainst them; the aged Dryden's last years were rendered difficult because of his loyalty to the faith of James II, and Alexander Pope's Roman Catholic inheritance added to the gall in his glittering, tortured soul.

Many Dissenters found a way of evading the restrictions which kept them out of public office, by the practice of "occasional conformity." That is, they kept their jobs by taking Communion once a year in the Anglican Church, with mental reservations. When the government sought to put a stop to this practice, Daniel Defoe tried to come to the rescue with a daring pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,* which turned out to be so ambiguous that both parties repudiated it, and the author was set in the pillory. An Act against Occasional Conformity was in fact passed, though it did not remain upon the statute books for long.

The Jacobites and the succession of Anne.

One policy in which William and Parliament joined was to keep out the exiled Roman Catholic Stuarts and to ensure a Protestant succession to the English throne. James II, supported more or less openly by the French, was constantly involved in plots and struggles to win back his crown. He had many adherents in England, chiefly among the Roman Catholics and Tories, who were known as "Jacobites," from "Jacobus," the Latin form of "James." These roman- tic gentlemen spoke of their exiled leader as "the king over

the water" (that is, across the Channel, in France). When they drank wine "To the king!" they passed their wine glasses over their water glasses: "To the king (over the water)."

The death of Queen Mary, of smallpox, in 1694, was the signal for an open rising under the Duke of Berwick, James's illegitimate son. The revolt came to naught, and William ruled alone. William had no children; his heir was his Protestant sister-in-law, Anne, a younger daughter of James II. When the last of Anne's seventeen children died, it became necessary to look farther for an ultimate successor. Parliament passed over the two claimants who were closest in blood: James II's son, and James II's sister, Henrietta of Orléans. These two were Roman Catholics; by the Bill of Rights they were ineligible, like Henrietta's living Bavarian descendant today, who has, by blood-right, a better claim to the English crown than George V. Parliament selected instead the German Protestant Sophia, Electress of Hanover, a granddaughter of James I. Her right was established in an Act of Settlement.

Naturally this angered the Jacobites; and though the exiled James II died soon after, his cause survived in his son James, whom Louis of France recognized as rightful king of England, whom the Jacobites hailed as James III, and whom history designates as the Old Pretender. When in 1702 King William's horse stumbled over a mole hill, and the king died as a result, Jacobites drank toasts to the mole, "the little gentleman in black velvet." But Anne succeeded to the throne, and before her death the nations of Europe had in the Peace of Utrecht recognized the Han-

overian settlement which the English Parliament had fixed ten years previously.

This Peace of Utrecht was the conclusion of a prolonged struggle between England and France which had been going on almost continuously ever since the Glorious Revolution. When William of Orange permitted his royal uncle and father-in-law to flee into exile, James took refuge with the French king Louis XIV. The tangled relations between England and France could not stand this added strain, and England joined the League of Augsburg, an alliance of nations which William had built up to oppose the aggressions of France.

William III's first war against France, 1689-1697.

War broke out immediately, but during the joint reign of William and Mary, the English had little success from a military standpoint. The English nation as a whole was not very enthusiastic about the affair. The varied interests which had combined to bring in William began to break apart as soon as they discovered that they had saddled themselves with a sour, intense, autocratic Dutchman as king. The sentiment against the foreign monarch later became so acute that Defoe was inspired to come to the king's assistance in *The Trueborn Englishman,* reminding William's subjects that their own mixed blood was not above criticism. The English were, moreover, suspicious of William's preoccupation with Continental problems; and although the industrial and mercantile party, the Whigs, burned to expand their field of activity, the conservative land-owning Tories saw little advantage in a foreign war. The Jacobites, too, were for peace; and many of the national leaders were hopelessly involved in European

intrigue. When Admiral Russell won a great naval victory for the English at La Hogue, he felt called upon to apologize to Louis, with whom he had been plotting.

In spite, then, of English naval successes in the Mediterranean and the Channel, the French were easily able to hold their own. Their land armies were invincible; they even captured from William the supposedly impregnable fortress of Namur, in the Netherlands, and the French poet Boileau wrote an *Ode* in celebration of the feat. William, however, was gaining strength; and the French could not continue indefinitely their policy of winning bloody victories at prohibitive cost. In 1695 Namur was recaptured from Louis, and Matthew Prior produced an *English Ballad* burlesquing Boileau's *Ode;* two years later the Peace of Ryswick brought a temporary cessation of hostilities.

The peace was of short duration, and was brought to an end by a difficult situation which arose in Spain. The Spanish king, Carlos (or Charles) II, was a childless imbecile, and each of his two brothers-in-law, Louis XIV of France and the Emperor Leopold I, was planning to acquire the Spanish territories for his own family. The supporters of an infant Bavarian prince, also, were eager for their claimant to have a share. William of England, anxious to preserve a balance of power in Europe, was unwilling to see Spain, with its immense possessions in the Netherlands, the Mediterranean, and America, handed over in a lump to any one claimant; he persuaded Louis XIV to sign the First Partition Treaty, in 1698, by which the prize was to be divided among the three claimants. In a satire on this treaty, *The History of John*

The problem of the Spanish Succession.

Bull, probably written by Pope's friend Dr. John Arbuthnot, the nickname was originated which has typified England ever since.

The death of the infant Bavarian claimant upset the attempted settlement, and in 1700 the French and English made a new arrangement in the Second Partition Treaty. But the Spanish were enraged at the prospective dismemberment of their vast territories, and they persuaded poor Carlos II to draw up a will bestowing his whole domain on a young grandson of Louis XIV, Philip. Carlos died soon thereafter, and Louis decided to repudiate the treaty and fight for his grandson's entire inheritance; the Spanish ambassador at Paris admitted the virtual union of France and Spain by announcing, "There are no more Pyrenees!"

Such a concentration of European power was too much for the English; even the pro-French Tories joined in the cry for war, and William organized a Grand Alliance of England, Holland, and the Holy Roman Empire to resist Louis. At this critical moment, the exiled James II died, and Louis added a last straw to England's load by recognizing the third James Stuart as rightful king of England. The death of England's King William on March 8, 1702, did not interfere with the preparations for war; his Protestant sister-in-law Anne peacefully succeeded him, in accordance with the Act of Settlement; and two months later the Grand Alliance declared war on France, the War of the Spanish Succession.

The War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713.

During this war, which lasted for a decade, the aims of the allies were to keep the exiled Stuarts out of England,

to hinder French expansion, to prevent the union of France and Spain, and to establish (on the throne of Spain) the Austrian Archduke Charles, a young son of the emperor, in opposition to the French claimant, Philip. The Dutch and English were fortunate in having as the commander-in-chief of their forces one of the most brilliant military geniuses that England has ever produced. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, although a typical politician of those days, was a very great general, despite Thackeray's attempt to discount his achievements, in *Henry Esmond*. He owed his high position mainly to the close ties of friendship that existed between his wife (Sarah Jennings) and Queen Anne.

In 1704 Marlborough won a brilliant victory at Blenheim, celebrated in Addison's *Campaign;* England rewarded the victor with the magnificent ducal estate still held by Marlboroughs and known as Blenheim. The English also gained permanent control of the entrance to the Mediterranean by capturing Gibraltar from its handful of defenders (only eighty men!); and in 1705 Marlborough won another great battle at Ramillies.

But the attempts of the allies to establish the Austrian Charles on the throne of Spain were not equally successful. When Louis, discouraged by his reverses, negotiated for peace in 1709, the die-hards in the Whig war-party insisted that the French king drive his own grandson, Philip, out of Spain; this was too much to expect of Louis, and he reopened hostilities.

The English now began to lose interest in the war; their chief purpose, to hinder Louis's policy of expansion, was practically achieved; the anti-war Tory party came into

power in 1710, and great writers like Defoe and Swift changed their allegiance to the new leaders and devoted their mighty pens to the cause of peace. Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* probably suggested to the English people that they had nothing to gain and much to lose if they continued in the war; this position was essentially sound, as the Austrian Charles's father and brother had died and he himself was planning to unite the Empire and Spain under his rule. Such a solution was as dangerous to the balance of power as Louis's policy had been; so the English saw little point in supporting Charles against the French. Meanwhile the Duchess of Marlborough had lost Queen Anne's favor, and had been supplanted by a Tory favorite, Abigail Masham. On the last day of 1711 Marlborough was ousted from his post of commander-in-chief, and in the next month the allies began to discuss peace terms.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

In the Peace of Utrecht finally concluded a year later, the French and Spanish yielded some of their possessions on the Mediterranean and in the Netherlands to England, Holland, and the Empire. For the first time the Spaniards allowed the English some trading privileges in Spanish America, which the English promptly abused. The French Philip was allowed to retain the throne of Spain, but he renounced all interest in the French crown, to which his nephew Louis (later King Louis XV) was heir. Finally, the French withdrew their support from James Stuart, the Old Pretender to the English crown, ratified the English Act of Settlement by which Anne's distant Hanoverian cousin Sophia was to succeed Queen Anne, and yielded to England certain French colonies in North America. From one of these, Acadia (now

known as Nova Scotia) the English later drove out the French colonists, and gave to the American poet Longfellow, a century afterwards, the subject of his *Evangeline*.

So ended the great European struggle which served as a Continental background to the reigns of the last Stuarts; Anne herself died a year later, and the House of Hanover came to the English throne. William, Mary, and Anne had had, however, distractions other than those across the Channel. When William and Mary succeeded James II in 1689, they found both Scotland and Ireland full of Roman Catholics and Jacobite sympathizers. Both these states had been politically separated from England at the restoration of Charles II in 1660; they had no representation in the English Parliament, and existed as mere dependencies of the English Crown.

When England declared for William of Orange in 1689, the Highland clans in the north of Scotland rose in rebellion, not so much in support of James II as against the rival clan of Campbells, whose leader, Argyle, supported William. A dashing Cavalier, James Graham of Claverhouse, who had represented Charles II and James II in Scotland and had risen to the rank of Viscount Dundee (Sir Walter Scott's "Bonny Dundee"), led the Highland revolt against the Dutchman. In the battle of Killiekrankie he routed an English force. The English leader blamed his defeat on the old-style bayonets which were awkward to handle because they had to be fitted inside the rifle-muzzles after the firing was over; as a result he devised the modern type of bayonet fitting around the outside of the muzzle and not interfering with firing.

Relations between Scotland and England.

Dundee himself was killed in the moment of victory, and with his death the Highland revolt collapsed. William offered forgiveness to all rebels who should before a fixed date swear to submit to his rule. One stiff-necked Highlander, the chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, waited till the last possible moment before making submission. The acceptance of his oath was delayed, and the English made of this formal slip an excuse for sending the hated Campbells to massacre the men of Glencoe.

Scotland, however, was pacified; the next step was to unite it to England. As long as the two states remained separate, there was constant commercial friction. The situation was complicated by the Darien Project, a wildcat Scotch scheme to colonize the Isthmus of Panama. Although the project failed, thanks to the unhealthful climate and the Spanish navy, the English saw the danger of Scotch commercial rivalry. The Scots in turn realized that they themselves needed English commercial support. Finally in 1707, during the reign of Anne, the two states agreed on a union. Scotland was to have Presbyterianism as its officially established religion, and was to keep its own laws; but the two states were united in one nation known as Great Britain, with one parliament containing both Scotch and English representatives. The English cross of Saint George and the Scottish cross of Saint Andrew were combined in a new flag, the Union Jack; and for over two centuries the union symbolized by that flag has survived.

William III in Ireland.

In Ireland the problem seemed simpler of solution, though we realize today that it is still to be solved. James II, immediately after his flight from England, turned to Ireland, collected an army of Irish

Catholics, and summoned an Irish Parliament which proceeded to enact the most outrageous measures against the English Protestant settlers.

At first William of Orange was unable to combat this danger, but in 1690 he invaded the sister island and on July 1 won the Battle of the Boyne, which Protestant "Orange"-men still celebrate. James fled, after congratulating his Irish forces upon their running ability, and peace was established by the Treaty of Limerick. Unfortunately England did not abide by the terms of this treaty. Roman Catholics were excluded from the Irish Parliament; the Protestant minority was put in control; and Englishmen and Protestants joined in a policy of despoiling Catholics and extorting from Irish tenants exorbitant rents, which were spent in England. These measures, and oppressive trade restrictions, speedily pauperized the natives, resulting in the horrible degradation which Swift denounces in his *Modest Proposal*. Great Britain today is still paying the penalty for its consistent mishandling of the Irish problem.

The last Stuart reigns saw changes in internal conditions as profound and as significant as any that occurred in England's relations with foreign neighbors and dependent states. The constitutional basis of the State was strengthened, and religious problems were settled. In addition, a new system of government by political parties was developed, the economic and financial structure of the nation was altered, and a great and enduring change took place in social conditions and in the intellectual temper of the people as a whole.

Changing internal conditions during the last Stuart reigns.

At the time of the Glorious Revolution, the infant politi-

cal parties were very different from the compact, highly organized groups that we see in English and American political life today. Neither Whigs nor Tories had any sort of organization; there were no definite political parties, and no supreme party leaders. Each party was a mere informal combination of men who joined in upholding certain general principles and in representing certain broad interests. The Whigs stood for religious toleration and constitutional government; they represented commercial and industrial interests; they were made up of Dissenters, Low Churchmen, middle-class city dwellers, and upstart lords who had come to prominence through politics, war, and business. The Tories, on the other hand, upheld the Established Anglican Church and royal authority; they spoke for a multitude of conservative landowners; and their ranks were filled with Roman Catholics, High Churchmen, Jacobites, members of the older aristocracy, and country squires who derived their incomes from their lands and acted as petty monarchs each in his own district. The motives that inspired most political leaders were not the advancement of party principles or the attainment of national good; a politician aimed rather to increase his own wealth and power, to strengthen his own class, and to obtain for his own party all the best paid government jobs.

The development of political parties.

In such a situation, the welfare of the State was bound to suffer. There was as yet no way of ensuring efficient cooperation among the voters, the parties, Parliament, the ministers, and the king. England was still far from achieving its present system of party and cabinet government, in which one political party, having secured through

a general election a majority of the seats in Parliament, selects a cabinet of ministers; and this cabinet, representing the dominant party, practically governs the nation as an executive committee of Parliament, but relinquishes its power as soon as a change in the membership or the attitude of Parliament leaves the ministers unsupported. Toward such a system England was gradually feeling its way; and much progress was made under William, and under Anne.

When William first came to the throne, some politicians who were distasteful to one element or another in the State tried to retain their power by a policy called "trimming"; that is, by avoiding any outright course of action and balancing themselves on the fence that divided the various groups. William, in selecting his cabinet of ministers, adopted a similar plan and tried to unite the people in support of his government by giving positions to Whigs and Tories both.

When this cabinet was unable to coöperate with a Whig majority in Parliament, a new ministry was formed of Whigs exclusively, called the Junto, and for a time the cabinet and the dominant party in Parliament were able to work together.

The Junto fell when the Tories regained control of the House of Commons, which during the past century had become the important branch of Parliament. In 1702 Anne came to the throne; the new queen was a lover of the Anglican Church, and was passionately Tory in her sympathies. But the great Marlborough looked to the warlike Whigs for support in his military ambitions; and when in 1705 the Whigs in turn secured a majority in

Parliament, Duchess Sarah persuaded her royal mistress to dismiss the Tory ministers.

The queen was forced to yield, but she lost all faith in Sarah Jennings and bestowed her favor on Abigail Masham instead. The new favorite was related to a Tory leader, Harley; and the Tories now plotted to regain control of the government. They had not long to wait; the growing unpopularity of the French war was already weakening Whig influence, when in 1709 a London clergyman, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, preached a violently anti-Whig sermon. The distracted Whigs made the fatal mistake of impeaching the clergyman for high crimes and misdemeanors; popular feeling ran high in his defense, and when he was convicted, despite the light sentence, a wave of resentment against the Whigs swept the country. In the election of 1710 the Tories won a majority, and Anne chose as her ministers the Tory leaders Harley and St. John.

Unfortunately for the victorious party, a dangerous rivalry developed between the two leaders. Harley was a clever but cautious politician, and the patron of such writers as Defoe and Swift, whose aid he won for his party; Swift gives us (in his *Journal to Stella*) a vivid picture of his own relationship with the new minister. St. John, an unprincipled schemer and a freethinker (he defended the new deistic philosophy, and his friend Pope addressed the *Essay on Man* to him), was jealous of Harley's advancement; Anne had rewarded Harley with the Earldom of Oxford, while St. John had to content himself with the title of Viscount Bolingbroke. The Tories were already being split up by their divided allegiance to the House of Hanover and to the exiled Stuarts, and by

such personal feuds as the one that Pope tried to laugh into insignificance in his *Rape of the Lock*. The rivalry between the two leaders further weakened the party.

St. John saw that Queen Anne was soon to die; wishing to secure his own position, he brought about the dismissal of Harley and intrigued with the Jacobites. He figured that if the Old Pretender should seize the throne, it would be well to be his friend; and if on the other hand the next king was to be Hanoverian George, who had succeeded his mother Sophia as heir, Jacobite support would enable the minister to make his own terms with the new government.

But death was too quick for St. John. Queen Anne was suddenly stricken; St. John's opponents persuaded her to choose Shrewsbury, a former Whig, as Lord Treasurer, and on her deathbed she handed the white staff of office to him. When on August 1, 1714, Anne died, Shrewsbury proclaimed George of Hanover to be King George I of England, and the Hanoverian settlement was peacefully accomplished.

The development of party government was not the only step forward made by England during this quarter century.

Developments in economics and finance.

A number of new measures changed radically the financial system of the nation. This was an era of prosperity. Irish rents, the proceeds of a developing commerce, and the profits of new industries added to the sum total of ready money in Englishmen's pockets. There was much surplus capital; but there were few opportunities for sound investment. Wildcat schemes like the Scotch Darien Project of William Paterson were popular; Defoe wrote an *Essay on Projects*

in which he suggested a number of fantastic ways to make idle capital bring in rich dividends, and Swift's "Academy of Projects" in *Gulliver's Travels* perhaps satirized the same situation.

The government, on the other hand, was desperately in need of ready money to prosecute the French war. Louis XIV had said that the nation whose money lasted longest would win; and William of England was shrewd enough to see that the Frenchman was right. Charles Montagu, later Earl of Halifax, evolved a scheme which made private wealth available for the needy government; he created a permanent National Debt by persuading the government to borrow £1,000,000 from private subscribers, who received in return securities entitling them to a fixed income, corresponding to our government bonds today. These securities, known as "the funds," provided a safe and attractive investment; they became very popular; and they served a subsidiary purpose of strengthening the established government, for no one who had invested good money in William and the Protestant succession was likely to favor a Stuart restoration that would repudiate the National Debt.

Montagu, together with William Paterson, a Scotch financier, now proceeded to bring about the foundation of the Bank of England. Previously, private citizens had deposited their money with goldsmiths, who had the best facilities for guarding such treasure. The goldsmiths issued in return negotiable notes, and also lent to needy citizens the capital which they controlled, charging a stinging interest. Paterson suggested a scheme for organizing this profitable business; Montagu saw the advantage of placing

it under government control. As a result, a group of subscribers was incorporated as the Bank of England, and empowered to engage in the banking business and to issue bank notes.

Montagu's third achievement was the passage of the Recoinage Act. Aided by the philosopher John Locke and the physicist Sir Isaac Newton he worked out this scheme for stabilizing the national currency; the old coins, many of which had been clipped or pared around the edges in order to yield a little extra precious metal, were called in at face value, and new coins were substituted, with milled or roughened edges which made clipping impossible.

At the same time the principle of mercantilism was gradually permeating the economic life of England. The general feeling was that the nation should control as much gold as possible, although this feeling was never formulated as a law. The desired result was to be accomplished in a number of ways; private gain was encouraged, and an aggressive commercial policy seemed likely to bring about the desired results. Bernard Mandeville, in his *Fable of the Bees,* stated the principle that private vices are public benefits; he argued that the indulgence of vices involved spending, and that the resulting commercial activity added to the national wealth.

Another way to ensure a growing gold reserve was to keep the sum total of exports in advance of the imports; the more that Englishmen sold and the less they bought, the more actual money they would make. And actual money was what counted. In pursuit of this policy home industries were protected, and buying abroad was discouraged. English economists saw as their ideal a self-

sufficient empire which should produce everything that Englishmen needed, and sell the surplus to the rest of the world—for cash! This general mercantile theory dominated economic thought for a long period; and many vestiges of it are still apparent.

In the changing economic world of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries, social conditions inevitably changed. Modern England, conceived in 1660 and born in 1689, was rapidly acquiring its distinguishing features. No longer did Londoners need private torch-bearers and armed guards to escort them through the streets after dark; the new London was provided with street lamps. No longer were citizens dependent on polluted wells for their drinking water; a good water supply was piped throughout the city. A penny post was inaugurated, by which letters could be delivered in the metropolis for a penny.

Social conditions.

The Licensing Act, which censored the press and against which Milton had fulminated in his *Areopagitica,* half a century previously, was at last allowed to expire in 1695. As a result a deluge of newspapers, restrained only by the libel laws and the expensive stamp tax, began to flood the nation.

There remained, however, in the national sentiment a solid residuum of morality and respectability, lingering since the days of Puritan government. The glittering, heartless productions of such contemporary dramatists as Congreve, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh, were not everywhere approved, and in 1698 Jeremy Collier led the attack against them in his *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage.*

Gradually the licentious spirit introduced at the Restoration fell into disrepute. The strong Puritan tone of the active Dissenting churches, and the solid bourgeois virtues of the middle-class citizens both helped to steady the national temperament. And at the same time the influence of French criticism popularized the virtues of polish and restraint.

In the coffee-houses, the informal clubs where literature, politics, and all other subjects under the sun were discussed, the newer, more refined standards gradually spread. Men solemnly propounded the thesis that only the noble writers of antiquity were worthy of imitation; Swift in his *Battle of the Books* depicted the conflict between the Ancients and the Moderns; and Pope's *Essay on Criticism* borrowed from the Latin and French critics, Horace and Boileau, the "neo-classical" rules which it stated for the composition and criticism of poetry.

As newspapers grew more influential, they served to spread the new standards throughout the nation. Addison and Steele, the master essayists whom Thackeray brings to life in *Henry Esmond,* through their famous periodicals, *The Tatler* and *The Spectator,* preached good morals and good sense. Their efforts helped to discredit the archaic custom of dueling, to counteract the selfish code of court society, and to encourage the cultivation of softer sentiments.

England at the time of the Hanoverian succession, 1714.

This was the society to which George I was introduced in 1714. The Hanoverian found an England very different from that in which his Dutch cousin William had landed twenty-five years earlier. The government had been

established on a firm constitutional basis, religious unrest had been quieted, and the vexed question of the royal succession had at last been settled. England had broken the power of Louis XIV, and had acquired an immense prestige in Continental affairs; England had become the most important naval and colonial power in the world. Scotland and England had united in Great Britain, and the sword had made a peaceful ruin of the Emerald Isle. The system of party and cabinet government was well on the way to completion; the national finances were reorganized; and English society was attaining a considerable degree of respectable cultivation. The kingdom which George I inherited was not after all fundamentally different from that to which George V succeeded two decades ago.

CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST TWO GEORGES

(1714-1760)

"One truth is clear: whatever is, is right."
POPE, *An Essay on Man.*

The middle of the Eighteenth Century was, in England, a period of political inertia. The great principles of limited monarchy and toleration had been fairly well established during the early years of the century, and Englishmen were glad to sit back at last and enjoy the security for which they had been fighting since the days of the first Stuarts. Religious problems had been adjusted, and constitutional and party government established. The Peace of Utrecht had temporarily averted the menace of French aggression; Scotland and Ireland had been quieted, one by the Union and the other by the sword. And the peaceful accession of the House of Hanover had practically answered the troublous question of the royal succession. No wonder the average Londoner or country squire was ready to accept this new golden age at its face value, and to devote his energies to enjoying life and building up his own prosperity and position.

Eighteenth Century conservatism.

The dangerous policies of James II which had resulted in that king's dismissal were directed not only against the religious and political liberties of Englishmen, but also

against established English institutions. Parliament, the Church, the Universities, municipalities, even the great English families, with their assumed rights to dominate Parliamentary elections in the districts they controlled—all had suffered under the last male Stuart. And when the Stuarts were finally done away with, the national impulse was to restore and defend those same institutions. Once they had been restored, the motto of the new age became "Things as they are."

The peaceful stagnation which spread over English life had, however, the inherent evil of all stagnation: it bred corruption. Parliament, no longer fearful of the king, grew careless of the people. A generous and well organized system of bribery reconciled the legislators to the will of the cabinet ministers; and the practice of keeping Parliamentary proceedings secret concealed this corruption from the voters. Moreover, the system of popular elections was shockingly confused; the qualifications entitling a man to vote varied in different localities; and the basis of representation was unsound. Some uninhabited districts, "rotten boroughs," were allowed as many Parliamentary representatives as the thickly settled municipalities enjoyed; and in other districts, "pocket boroughs," the elections were controlled by corporations or by powerful families. In 1716 Parliament asserted its independence by passing the Septennial Act, lengthening from three to seven years its maximum life, during which it could carry on without a new general election of members. Then too the collapse of the Tory party following Bolingbroke's fall removed the element of healthy competition; and the rich, established Whigs had everything their own way. The theoretical

rights of the individual voter were in practice quite ineffective; and the party in power was left free to curry favor, bargain, bribe, and steal at will. Out of such conditions there developed the government whose rottenness and folly Swift satirized in *Gulliver's Travels.*

George I, 1714-1727.

The new king's indifference to domestic political problems, due to his profound ignorance of the English language and customs, left his government free to go its own malodorous way. When George I of Hanover arrived in England on September 18, 1714, his new subjects found that a dull, unattractive foreigner was to be their king. It was a sad falling off for a nation whose imagination was still beguiled by traditions of Tudor temperament and Stuart charm. This George, like his son and successor, spoke no English; his manners were uncouth, his appearance gross; he was even less interested in the English than they in him, and his own native German state of Hanover remained his prime concern. Even his mistresses, whom the English speedily nicknamed "the Elephant" and "the Maypole," could not compare with Charles II's Lady Castlemaine and her eight milk-white horses, or the fascinating Nell Gwyn. It is significant that all belief in the king's supernatural power to cure scrofula by a mere touch of his hand vanished at the arrival of George I; Anne was the last English monarch to touch for the "king's evil."

George's contempt for English affairs was profound; he did not even inspire his favorites to interfere in the government, and they in turn were satisfied with the rich material plunder that London offered them. To the Whig leaders, under whose auspices he had ascended the throne,

George entrusted the government of his new domain; and they gradually took over many of the most valuable rights of the Crown. The formation of ministries, the dissolution of Parliament, and the distribution of profitable jobs in Church and State, all passed out of the royal hands; and it was almost half a century before the third Hanoverian George attempted to restore the power of the Crown.

The accession of George II, 1727.

After thirteen years of peaceful reign in England, distracted only by the problems of his Continental possessions and by quarrels with his son and heir, George I died, in 1727, and was succeeded by his antagonistic offspring. George II inherited most of his father's faults, aggravated by a bull-headed insistence on having his own way. He (or England!) was blessed, however, with a paragon of a queen, Caroline of Anspach. During the ten years before her death, Caroline worked hand in glove with the new Whig leader, Robert Walpole, the chief minister; she tactfully suggested Walpole's policies to the king in such a way that George regarded them as his own brilliant ideas, and pushed them obstinately. After Caroline's death, the Whig influence persisted; so that during his whole long reign of thirty-three years George II's personal influence on English politics was negligible.

Whig ascendancy.

The real rulers of the State, the power behind the throne, during the reigns of the first two Georges, were the Whig party leaders. Throughout these forty-six years no other party rose to power. The Tories, discredited by the fall of Bolingbroke and their own Jacobite sympathies, practically collapsed as a political party in 1714; their rivals hastened the collapse by direct

attacks on the Tory leaders, Oxford and Bolingbroke. The destiny of England was left in Whig hands.

The backbone of the victorious party, the "Whig oligarchy" which maintained its own supremacy for half a century, was made up of some seventy great families. These families, rich, powerful, and aggressive, controlled many of the electoral districts; the family heads mostly sat in the House of Lords, their younger members in the Commons. The king gave them their own way; they stifled opposition by force and by bribery. All in all it was an ideal situation—for the Whigs!

Fortunately for their own good, disciplinary forces were at work. For one thing, there were cleavages in their own ranks. Some Whigs favored the king's foreign policy; others opposed it; and rivalries among different factions and leaders kept the party toned up. Then too there was a strong strain of Tory sentiment in the nation as a whole; the country squires, who exercised an enormous influence as owners of large estates and as Justices of the Peace, were predominantly Tory in sympathy, like Fielding's Squire Western in *Tom Jones*. And these conservative aristocrats, although they accepted the Hanoverian dynasty as a matter of course, and took little interest in London politics, retained for a long time a lingering loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. As a result, the Whigs were kept constantly alert to placate the squires, and to guard against arousing any troublesome opposition.

As the century advanced, other tendencies developed to threaten the Whig oligarchy. The nation finally grew full-fed and restless after too much rich security; the concentration of power in one class excited the envy of other classes,

and the Whig policies of peace, prosperity, things as they are, and graft, gave the opposition a point of attack. Bolingbroke was allowed to return to England, and gathered around him a group of "Constitutional" or "Hanoverian" Tories, who attacked the selfish commercialism of the Whigs and displayed some interest in the welfare of the nation as a whole. From their leader's pamphlet *On the Idea of a Patriot King* they took the name of "Patriots."

Walpole, the Whig prime minister, sneered at their "Patriotism"; he sneered too at a group of young idealists in his own party who detested the crass materialism of his rule; "Boys," he called them. But in the end Walpole and his old-style Whigs fell; and the leader of the "Boys," William Pitt, became one of England's greatest statesmen.

During the first two Hanoverian reigns, half a dozen leaders in turn represented or controlled the Whig party.

Whig leaders. When George I mounted the throne, he chose as chief adviser Townshend. But Townshend was unsympathetic with the king's German favorites and his Continental interests, and after three years he was displaced by a rival Whig, Stanhope, who gathered around him a group of ministers so interested in Hanoverian affairs that they came to be called the "German Ministry." When Stanhope and his associates were discredited for their participation in a stock swindle known as the South Sea scheme, Townshend came back to power, bringing with him Robert Walpole as a partner.

Robert Walpole. The clearing up of the débris of the South Sea Company gave Walpole his reputation as a financier and leader of men. That company was a purely speculative concern to which Parliament had granted trad-

ng privileges in Spanish America, before Spain had agreed o any such arrangement. A crash was the inevitable end of the venture, but it did not occur until Walpole had sold his stock for a very great profit and was in a position to prosecute the founders of the nefarious scheme.

Walpole, a clear-sighted financier, proceeded to build up national prosperity by developing trade. With this end n view he reduced land taxes, and lightened many of the restrictions on commerce with the colonies; land values ncreased immensely as a result. But his greatest scheme, o encourage trade further by the removal of export and mport duties, and the substitution of an excise, an internal ax on goods sold in the kingdom, aroused terrific opposi- ion. England still remembered the oppressive taxes im- posed by the Long Parliament a century previously, and in he face of the "No Excise" clamor Walpole was finally orced to withdraw his Excise Bill in 1733.

Walpole became the outstanding figure in this whole era of Whig supremacy. A clever and autocratic politician, utterly lacking in moral idealism and notoriously profligate n his own private life, he represented perfectly the domi- nant spirit in his party. One secret of his phenomenal success lay in his ability to take things lightly. Only when he abandoned his peaceful policy and yielded to the problems that brought his twenty years of power to an end, did he lose the gift of falling asleep sweetly and soundly from the moment his head touched the pillow. No matter what national crisis faced him, Walpole re- ained his sense of proportion; a letter from his game- keeper could divert and refresh him in the midst of a political emergency; he was the gayest of dinner com-

panions; from him his amiable and versatile son, Horace Walpole, clever dilettante and polished writer, must have inherited the charming cynicism for which he is remembered.

But Robert Walpole was also a shrewd, domineering, cold-blooded politician. Believing that every man had his price, he cheerfully paid it. By bribery, cajolery, and browbeating, he whipped into submission his colleagues in the ministry, the Whigs, and Parliament. Through the cooperation of Queen Caroline, he imposed his will on George II.

It was really Walpole who developed the office of Prime Minister, although he himself never accepted the title. In the days of William of Orange, the king controlled his cabinet of ministers, and they acted merely as his advisers. But when the Hanoverians proved uninterested in the government of England, it became necessary for some one minister to fill the king's shoes and take the initiative in the cabinet. Walpole soon worked his way into this position; he ousted any ministers who blocked his policies, and made of the cabinet a unified body jointly responsible, under him, to Parliament. No longer did a ministry depend upon the king's favor; the ministers were members of the House of Commons, and when the premier was unable to control the Commons, his entire cabinet fell, and he with it.

If such a man as Walpole advocated peace, and kept his country out of Continental wars during almost all the twenty years of his supremacy, his policy was not due to any moral antipathy to war. It was based rather on his controlling motive to further the power and prosperity of

his own class. And further them he did, though his methods were such as to leave him an unenviable reputation, and to make him a subject for satire in Fielding's *Life of Jonathan Wild the Great* and Gay's *Beggar's Opera.*

After ten years of joint power, Townshend and Walpole finally quarreled. Townshend was trying to build up an alliance to withstand Spain and Austria; Walpole disapproved, and when the open break came, it was Townshend who fell, and Walpole who became "prime" minister, in 1730. The grateful George II rewarded him with a residence on Downing Street, which has ever since remained the official residence of England's premiers.

Walpole enjoyed sole power for twelve years, and finally was drawn, against his convictions, into a struggle with Spain known as the "War of Jenkins' Ear," which soon merged with a war against France and Spain in defense of the Austrian Succession. By the Asiento (agreement) of 1713 with Spain, one English ship a year was allowed to trade with Spanish-American ports. That vessel, however, was anchored and its cargo continually replenished from a fleet of English ships hovering in the vicinity for that purpose. The resulting ill-will was brought to a crisis by Robert Jenkins, an English shipmaster, who displayed his severed ear and claimed that it had been torn off by the Spaniards. The next year, 1739, England went to war with Spain over Jenkins's ear.

The struggle was not merely a dual affair for very long, for, in 1740, a woman ascended the Austrian throne. Despite earlier promises to recognize her right to the succession, Spain and France went to war with this empress, Maria Theresa. England, already fighting Spain, found it

easy to abide by a promise to support Maria Theresa, and thus became an ally of Austria. King Frederick the Great of Prussia added to the confusion by shifting sides from one party to another at will.

England did not shine in this war. From the English standpoint the only event of importance occurred in 1743, when an English king for the last time led his army in person; it was George II, on a campaign against Bavaria. He happened to meet a French army bound in the same direction but for a different purpose. France and England were not officially at war, but the two armies proceeded to fight it out on the spot, at Dettingen. Only a stroke of luck permitted the English to cut their way to a victorious escape. The war closed in 1748 with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which practically restored the participants to their status before the war, and left Maria Theresa all her territory except Silesia, which went to Frederick the Great.

Parliament, in the meantime, disappointed with Walpole's handling of affairs, had repudiated him, and in 1742 Walpole had retired from the ministry into the peerage, as Earl of Orford. His successor, Carteret, lasted for two years only, and was followed by the Pelhams, Henry and his brother Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, who reduced the system of controlling Parliament by bribery to an even finer art than Walpole's. After ten years of joint power, Henry died, and Newcastle gathered the reins into his own hands and held them three years longer.

In 1756 England began the Seven Years' War against France. Newcastle found difficulty in controlling his fol-

owing, and was forced to call William Pitt to his aid. For ight years England had remained at peace, but now the ilesian question precipitated another conflict, Frederick gainst France and Austria this time; and the colonial strife etween France and England drew the latter into the onflict. The new minister Pitt now came to the helm, nd recognized the war as a world-wide struggle for olonial supremacy. In Europe England accomplished ittle; it was her overwhelming successes in Asia and North merica that were important. In those regions India and anada were added to the British empire. This affair was nown on the Continent as the Seven Years' War, in merica as the French and Indian War; it was still in rogress when George II died, October 25, 1760.

William Pitt the Elder.

The minister who guided England to victory in this war, William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," belonged to the younger generation of Whigs, the idealistic "Boys" whom Walpole had despised. A man f upright character and splendid ideals, with a trace of onceit in his makeup, Pitt was not at all in sympathy ith the old Whig oligarchy. He believed in serving ne interests of the nation by putting the ablest men in ower, without worrying about their personal or political ffiliations. And he understood that the best interests of ne nation involved an extension of its colonial empire, articularly at a time when England's far-flung banners ere getting entangled with the French in America, in ndia, and on the high seas. Pitt carried the map of Europe n his head and the map of the empire in his heart; his ectitude and his supreme gifts as an orator won the

support of the English people; his remarkable comprehension of fundamental issues and his keen vision into the future enabled him to make priceless contributions to England's greatness.

Pitt was not, however, a politician; and all the popular enthusiasm in the world could not win for him the Parliamentary support which was essential to the carrying out of his policies. When, in 1757, the pressure of public opinion forced him into office, he soon discovered that he must have help from the old guard of the Whig oligarchy in order to make effective his system for beating France and building up the empire. So he accepted Newcastle as a colleague; that hardened political boss soon pacified Parliament, and during a four-year term of office Pitt was enabled to try out his system on the world. At the end of that period, the Great Commoner retired temporarily, but already the war against France was more than half won, and a new king, George III, had come to the English throne.

The English in India.

The empire that Pitt helped to build up had been gradually growing for a long time. Elizabethan explorers had planted colonies in America, and ever since 1600 the East India Company had been developing trading posts in India. French traders in the Orient tried to compete with the East India Company, and finally the French representative in India, Dupleix, allying himself with some of the native princes, began active attacks on the English. This was the situation in 1751, when Robert Clive, a young subordinate in the East India Company, opposed the French with a small force of hired native soldiers. So phenomenal was Clive's success that he had

practically driven the French out of India by the time of George II's death in 1760.

Not only the French but also the hostile natives, bowed before Clive. One hot summer night in 1756 Suraja Dowlah, the ferocious ruler of Bengal, crammed a hundred or more English prisoners into a tiny dungeon in Calcutta, the "Black Hole" which Macaulay describes so vividly in his essay on Lord Clive. When morning came, most of the prisoners had died horribly of suffocation. A year later Clive won a mighty victory over Suraja Dowlah and his French artillerymen at Plassey, and seized Bengal for the East India Company. Gradually, through the agency of this potent trading company, England was assuming control of India.

The English in America.

In America British influence was paramount in the colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, and in the great northern territories about Hudson Bay. The French, who controlled the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, conceived the brilliant scheme of isolating England's seacoast colonies and cutting them off from further expansion by running a line of forts down the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. With this end in view a French leader, Duquesne, built a fort on the present site of Pittsburgh, driving off a force of British Americans who tried to interfere. The English general Braddock led a small army against Fort Duquesne in 1755, but he was disastrously defeated by the French and their Indian allies. Shortly after the outbreak of the Seven Years', or French and Indian, War, the French general Montcalm attacked the English Fort William Henry, on Lake Champlain. In *The Last of the Mohicans* the

American novelist Cooper describes the horrible massacre which followed the surrender of the fort, an event that Montcalm was powerless to prevent.

When Pitt assumed control of affairs, however, the English and their colonists became more successful. Fort Duquesne was captured in 1758 and replaced by Fort Pitt, and the English then turned their attention against the French strongholds in the St. Lawrence valley. The English had already captured Louisburg, a French fort commanding the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1759 Wolfe, an English hero, led his forces up to the Plains of Abraham, commanding the mighty French fortress of Quebec, of which he hoped to be the conqueror, though, as he said, he would have preferred to be the author of Gray's recently written *Elegy*. In the battle that followed Wolfe fell, but the French Montcalm was also killed, and his forces were defeated. In the year of George II's death, the English drove the enemy out of Montreal, and secured Canada for themselves; the French scheme of cutting off the colonies was frustrated, and the future United States was left free to extend its territories westward.

Foreign relations of the first two Georges.

The world-wide struggle with France that closed the reign of George II was the most important event in England's international relations during the first half century of Hanoverian rule. Foreign affairs in the time of George I and his son dealt largely in wars and rumors of wars. The first George began to rule when the reverberations from the War of the Spanish Succession were being prolonged by the Treaty of Utrecht. After the Hanoverian had become king of England, he grew fearful of the de-

signs of Russia and Sweden against his Continental possessions. That fear was laid at rest by the War of the Polish Succession, which distracted Russia's attention; but soon thereafter commercial rivalry with Spain produced the struggle of Jenkins' Ear and brought England into the War of the Spanish Succession. However, it was not until the Seven Years' or French and Indian conflict that England made any notable gains.

Within the British Isles themselves the first two Georges had little trouble. Ireland could not lift its head beneath the oppressor's heel, and Scotland remained quiet except for two Jacobite uprisings. Immediately after the death of Anne, Parliament displayed its attitude toward the Stuart Old Pretender by offering an immense reward for his capture. In 1715 the Highland clans, who were still hostile to the Campbells, the restored Presbyterian Church, and the union with England, rose in a brief revolt known as "The 'Fifteen." At the same time a few Jacobites in the north of England declared for "James III." But the rising was crushed in one day by two battles fought simultaneously in England and Scotland, Preston and Sheriffmuir. The Old Pretender, after a tardy and brief appearance in Scotland, fled; and the 'Fifteen was ended.

The Jacobite risings, 1715 and 1745.

For a long time thereafter there was no trouble. In 1722 the Jacobites lost their representative in Parliament when Bishop Atterbury was caught plotting with the Old Pretender and banished. George II's accession in 1727 stirred no Jacobite rising. Edinburgh was, in 1736, the scene of the "Porteous Riots" described in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian;* but the Jacobites had no finger in this dis-

turbance, which was aroused by popular resentment against the heavy tax laid on gin.

Not until 1745 did the worst and last Jacobite revolt take place. Scotland had not yet outgrown its resentment against the English assumption of superiority. Dr. Samuel Johnson's scathing contempt for the Scotch, and the difficulties encountered by a young Scotchman, Tobias Smollett, when he came to England to make his mark in the world and to become one of England's great novelists, are typical of the strained relations between the two members of the Union. In 1745 England was distracted by the Continental War of the Austrian Succession, Walpole was out of office and Pitt not yet in, and George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland, was busy being whipped by the French at Fontenoy. The Stuarts, too, had found a new and brilliant leader in the person of the Old Pretender's son, Charles Edward, "Bonnie Prince Charlie."

This Young Pretender, without any European support, landed in Scotland with only seven companions. Displaying the white cockade of the Stuarts he declared his father king, and gathered the loyal Highlanders about his charming person. For six months he persisted in the brave but futile attempt which serves as a background for Scott's first novel, *Waverley*. Defeating an English force at Prestonpans, Prince Charlie led his Highlanders toward London. But the expected Jacobite rising in England never occurred. The English Jacobites were too satisfied with thirty years of Hanoverian security to take up arms for the Stuarts; apathetic mobs watched in silence as the Scotch army marched south, and contemporary writers felt so little

alarm or interest that they practically ignored the subject in their memoirs.

Having advanced to a point one hundred and twenty-seven miles from London, the Young Pretender at last realized that he could not win a kingdom single-handed. He marched his men back into Scotland, whither the Duke of Cumberland, hastily recalled from the Continent, followed him. In April, 1746, the two armies met at Culloden; the Scotch were crushed, and after five months of wandering flight, Prince Charlie at last escaped to the Continent, where he died forty years later. With the decease of his brother, Henry, Cardinal of York, in 1807, the male line of the Stuarts became extinct, though a descendant from Charles I through the female line lives today.

Cumberland, having wiped out armed opposition, proceeded to pacify the Highlands by methods which won him the title of "Butcher," and which Stevenson has recorded in *Kidnapped*. The Highlanders were disarmed, and forbidden to wear their distinctive garment, the tartan. The Highland leaders were robbed of their hereditary power over their clans; the chieftains became mere landlords, and their clansmen ordinary tenants; British law and the authority of government agents penetrated the remotest northern fastnesses, and at the loss of much picturesqueness and romantic disorder a modern civilization was developed, capable of producing a Walter Scott to record the beauties of the vanished past.

The British Constitution.

Throughout the mid-Eighteenth Century few changes occurred in the vague body of law and custom that composes the English Constitution. Men were willing to sit back and let the recently estab-

lished theories of the Glorious Revolution work themselves out; theories became custom, and custom unwritten law. The House of Lords lost its independent power when the ministers discovered that they could coerce the Lords by threatening to create enough new peers to give themselves a majority. But the Lords did not mind, for they controlled the country anyway through their family connections in the Whig oligarchy. A Riot Act was passed in 1715 providing that any assembly of twelve or more persons should be treated as criminal if it refused to disperse when a magistrate read a proclamation before it—hence the phrase "reading the riot act." In 1716 Parliament extended its duration from three to seven years by the Septennial Act; in 1727 there began a series of Indemnity Acts nullifying the old Test and Corporation Acts which had kept Dissenters out of government service. But there were no real changes in the fundamental plan of government, and no attacks upon it; George II could boast that never in his reign of thirty-three years had he violated the English Constitution.

Changes in agriculture and industry.

In its industrial life England experienced a gradual development foreshadowing the Industrial Revolution that was soon to come. The village was still the central unit in national life; home industries like weaving, instead of our modern factories, kept the inhabitants busy; and pedlars wandering over the countryside performed the function of our general stores. As the century advanced, there was a distinct improvement in agriculture too; fat beef and mutton were bred in place of scrawny draught cattle and wool-bearers; farm

machinery was introduced; and the scientific development of crops like clover and turnips showed how land could be made productive at the same time that it was being enriched. In place of the old common pastures, and the little slips of cultivated ground allotted to individual villagers, larger consolidated holdings gradually grew up under single proprietors. The new system made efficient farm management easier, but it squeezed out many of the small farmers who could not adjust themselves to new conditions; the dispossessed lingered on the land as hired laborers, or moved to the cities to find work in the growing factories and commercial houses.

As a result of this gradual process, the cities took enormous strides, and the village, as a self-sustaining center of national life, went out of existence, though it is doubtful if Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* gave a true picture of conditions anywhere outside of Ireland. The concentration of trade and shipping in the cities hastened their growth; and the invention of the flying shuttle for weaving, the use of coke in the place of the fast-vanishing wood in smelting iron-ore, and the founding of the great Wedgwood potteries (out of whose profits the poet Coleridge was to receive an annuity a generation later), all stimulated the factory method of production at the expense of home industries.

Social and intellectual life in the mid-Eighteenth Century.

In social and intellectual life this was predominantly a period of stagnation. Men were on the whole so well satisfied with the newly established order of things that they made few attempts to flee from the pleasant reality that surrounded them or to speculate on the dim

intangible glories of the spirit. Outside of the novel, there was little important literary work done. The Grub Street writers, so called from their chief place of residence in London, were typical of the period. These miserable hack-writers supported themselves as best they could by doing contract work for the booksellers. Except for novels, most of the important literary achievements of the age were critical rather than creative. Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary,* for instance, attracted a vast deal of attention when it appeared in 1755.

The educational standards of the nation were deplorable; there were practically no decent schools, and in Oxford and Cambridge, the only two English universities, instruction and examination alike were farcical. In the middle year of the century only three hundred and seventeen university freshmen matriculated in all England.

The social life of the nation was best represented by the country squires; rather uncouth, most of them, dogmatic, conservative, forceful by nature and breeding. As port and other heavy Portuguese wines, favored by light duties, gradually replaced the milder French vintages, hard drinking became more and more the rule; and the gentlemen lingered at table over their bottles and their anecdotes long after the blushing ladies of the family had retired to their innocuous drawing-room conversation and music.

In the social centers, the dress of the upper classes was splendid and elaborate. The ladies wore spreading hoop skirts, the gentlemen knee breeches and lace cuffs; both sexes prided themselves on their curled and powdered wigs. When an unconventional scholar appeared in his everyday blue-gray stockings instead of formal black, at an evening

gathering of grand ladies who made a fad of literature and scholarship, these women gained the nickname of "Blue Stockings."

The influence of a celebrated dandy, Beau Nash, at Bath helped to spread refined and artificial manners throughout the country. Bath was a famous health resort where people gathered from all over England, ostensibly to bathe in the mineral springs and drink the waters, but really to amuse themselves, and to take the polished standards of the fashionable watering place back to their own isolated rural communities. Smollett, in *Humphry Clinker,* gives us a vivid picture of the Bath season at its height. The great Whig families, too, by European travel absorbed much culture; every ambitious young aristocrat who was able made the "grand tour" of the Continent before settling down in England; the poet Gray has left in his letters a delightful account of such a tour which he took with young Horace Walpole.

Life in England was, on the whole, becoming distinctly more civilized and modern as the century advanced. Music, art, and the drama were popular; every young lady took music lessons and learned to draw; the artificial Italian opera, and the oratorios of the great German composer, Händel, who had settled in England, rivaled in popularity Gay's *Beggar's Opera* with its native English airs. One of the greatest of English actors, David Garrick, a pupil of Dr. Johnson's, won for himself applause in London theatres and the immortal tribute of Henry Fielding in *Tom Jones.* Even in two strongholds of conservatism, scholarship and law, modern tendencies were being felt; the old-fashioned habit of writing on serious matters in

Latin was dying before the advance of the native English language.

Lord Chesterfield, an author of distinguished letters, brought the English calendar up-to-date in 1752 by a bill which dropped eleven days out of the current year, and fixed January 1 rather than March 25 as the day on which the new year should always begin. Most of Europe had made this change some two centuries earlier, but Protestant England had held back in opposition to Pope Gregory, who had originally corrected the calendar. In 1753 the Marriage Act put an end to the previous disorderly system by which any clergyman could perform a marriage without any notice being given; the new act stipulated that only Anglican priests could celebrate Holy Matrimony (except in the case of Quakers and Jews), and that "banns" or preliminary announcements must be made at least three weeks in advance in the church where the marriage was to be celebrated. Although transportation and travel were still hazardous, life on the whole was being made safer and more comfortable; the introduction of inoculation was beginning to check the ravages of smallpox.

There was, however, a darker side to the picture. The poorer classes imitated the drunkenness of their betters and took to gin-drinking; honest old English ale suffered too as tea became more common. The plight of paupers was miserable; debtors were still thrown into beastly prisons and brutal laws, robbery, and smuggling remained a blot on English civilization for a long time to come. The portrayals of sin and crime in Hogarth's pictures, in Gay's *Beggar's Opera,* and in Fielding's *Life of Jonathan Wild the Great* (the story of a famous thief and go-between who

vas hanged in 1721) did not greatly exaggerate the facts. Fielding himself, however, improved the crime situation in London when he was made a magistrate in 1748, and put down street robbery with vigor and justice.

The Established Church, like all other settled institutions, stagnated during the reign of the first two Georges. The new spirit of toleration had removed the stimulus to religious discussion and conflict; vitalizing competition died out. Many of the clergy degenerated into sporting parsons like Laurence Sterne, over whose *Tristram Shandy* we still smile. There was little spiritual life in Anglicanism; many parishes were controlled by rich families who settled their younger sons in the priesthood, without worrying about the souls of sons or parishioners. At a time when one absentee clergyman might hold several parishes and enjoy their revenues while he let starved curates do the work, the Church was a happy hunting ground for unprincipled young men; no one worried much about the Christian religion. Dissenters were tolerated and grew slack themselves; philosophical skepticism and rationalism were popular in polite society. Hume's *Treatise of the Human Understanding* showed the trend of interest, and Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion,* an attempt to defend Christianity on the grounds of its reasonableness, was the chief contribution of the age to religious literature.

The Methodist religious revival.

One great change did take place in English life during the middle of the Eighteenth Century; and that was the Methodist religious revival. Anglicanism was already becoming comatose when in 1729 a group of young enthusiasts associated themselves together to lead a methodically regular life and cultivate

the kingdom of the spirit. The movement became popular and gained the name of "Methodism"; its adherents were at first communicants in the Established Church; but their eager "enthusiasm," their interest in the meek and poor, their preoccupation with the experiences of their own souls, so shocked the staid clergy that Anglican pulpits were closed to the revivalists.

Nothing daunted, the Methodists took to preaching in the open fields. Their leaders were John Wesley, a tireless organizer; his younger brother Charles, whose hymns melted the listening hearts of men; and Whitefield, a brilliant preacher. In 1739 John Wesley suddenly realized that he himself was "converted" and on the road out of sin; this experience of personal conversion became a central feature of Methodism, and the movement spread enormously, until at the close of the century its adherents numbered one hundred thousand. Not until John Wesley died, however, did the new movement break away from the Established Church and form the separate Methodist denomination so important today in English and American life.

The first fifty years of Hanoverian rule were, with the exception of this one great religious movement, a period of calm fair weather. But thunder clouds were piling up just below the horizon, and before the century ended, such a whirlwind was to descend upon English thought and political life as could not blow itself out in a hundred and fifty years. And at the beginning of the reign of George III, the first thunder heads were casting their threatening shadows across the placid sky of Eighteenth Century England.

CHAPTER XII

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III, UP TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(1760-1789)

"He ever warr'd with freedom and the free;
Nations as men, home subjects, foreign foes,
So that they utter'd the word 'Liberty!'
Found George the Third their first opponent."

BYRON, *The Vision of Judgment.*

Three great struggles dominate English history during the long reign of George III—or rather, three phases of one perennial conflict. This was the conflict of the old against the new, of the Ancients against the Moderns, of conservatism against liberalism, of tradition against experiment, of reaction against reform—a conflict as ancient as time, as novel as this morning's newspaper. Already England had been the scene of two great victories in this conflict—victories for the new!—when the Reformation overthrew the Roman Church, and when the Glorious Revolution put an end to absolute monarchy.

And now the hoary Cerberus of antiquity raised its three heads again, and each of the three waged a losing war of its own in a separate field of national life. In the field of government, the king attempted in vain to win back supreme power; in the field of empire, the British Crown surrendered its most cherished colonies to a new freedom

of their own; in the field of industry, the old domestic and agricultural system collapsed before the factories and machines of a modern age.

The accession of George III, 1760.

When George III mounted the throne on October 25, 1760, he was greeted by a wave of popular enthusiasm that recalled the old Tudor and Stuart days. The recent victories of the English forces on the Continent and overseas had reawakened a strong feeling of national pride which expressed itself in loyalty to the new king. George was a young man of twenty-two, English born and English speaking, unlike his Hanoverian predecessors. His personality was pleasing to his subjects in many ways. He was courageous; when the Gordon riots demoralized London, the king was the one magistrate in the kingdom who dared to face the rioters and restore order. He was self-reliant; he was pure in his private life; he championed the domestic virtues which middle-class Englishmen admired. "Farmer George" seemed to be a king after their own hearts; and the hero-worship which had been lavished on the exiled Stuarts was at last transferred to the legitimate sovereign. Since the 'Forty-five Jacobitism had been practically dead; and even such a staunch Jacobite Tory as Dr. Johnson could pledge the new sovereign and accept a pension from him without a qualm.

The personal ascendancy of George III.

But the new king had his weaknesses, and they betrayed him into evil courses, into the ill-fated attempt to regain for the Crown the political supremacy which it had once enjoyed. George III's pedestrian virtues hardly fitted him to cope with the tremendous new forces that were battering against the

consciousness of his world; his self-reliance hardened into a stubborn egotism that pitted him against all that was best in the coming age. Circumstances for which the king himself was not to blame were partially responsible for the sordid failure of his reign. He was not the son but the grandson of George II; his own father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, had been estranged from the late king, and he had died when George was only a youngster of thirteen. The boy himself had been brought up away from court, among women and womanish advisers, the worst among them being his petty-minded German mother, who constantly nagged the young prince to "be a king!" George's own mind was narrow and smug. "Was there ever such stuff as Shakespeare?" he asked. And, worst of all, there hung over him a threatening cloud of insanity, which descended upon him at intervals and completely darkened the last years of his reign.

The absence of any concentrated, well-directed public opinion, and the lack of a powerful party in opposition to the government, permitted this unheroic king to make a bold and temporarily successful attack upon the newly established Cabinet System of government. From the very beginning George made use of his royal influence to subjugate Parliament to himself rather than to the ministry, and he constantly dickered with the legislators behind his ministers' backs. Pitt, who might have withstood him, was incapacitated by illness; the Tory party was in a state of decay; the Whigs were distracted by internal feuds and by fatal differences between the older oligarchy and Pitt's forward-looking "Boys."

During the first ten years of the new reign the cabinet

collapsed half-a-dozen times, growing weaker with each reorganization, until at last George was able to install a Prime Minister an amiable tool of his own, Lord North. During North's ministry the king had everything his own way. But his schemes finally collapsed, because of their very success in the government. The years of North's ministry were the years of the American Revolution. George himself was personally responsible for the stupid mishandling of the American crisis, and for the dismembering of the English empire by a handful of raw, radical frontiersmen. Gradually Parliament and public opinion realized what a mess the king had made; and in 1780 the House of Commons passed Dunning's Resolution "that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Two years later Lord North was forced to resign from a position he had never desired, but had accepted only at the urgent behest of the king; with North's fall the personal ascendancy of George III ended. The young Prince of Wales came to the forefront in the opposition to his father's government; new and powerful ministers took the reins into their own hands, and reëstablished forever the principle that England was to be ruled by a cabinet of ministers responsible to Parliament. For George had failed in handling the American Revolution, the test case that might have made him supreme. Six years later the outbreak of the French Revolution inaugurated a new era in European politics, but even before that day George III had sunk so far that his good-for-nothing son was almost appointed Regent, during one of the king's attacks of insanity.

Throughout most of the first half of George III's sixty

year reign, the ministry was nominally Tory, though the Tory party itself was a negligible factor, and the king was the power behind the ministry. When George III was crowned, he inherited his grandfather's last cabinet, in which Newcastle was maneuvering the old Whig oligarchy and Pitt was carrying out the imperial policies of the new-style Whigs. Despite Pitt's splendid management of the Seven Years' War, George III immediately forced his own Tory adviser, John, Earl of Bute into the ministry. Pitt, anticipating the interference of the Spanish king, advised declaring war on Spain; but his colleagues disagreed with him, and he resigned. In 1762 Newcastle followed him into retirement, and George chose the Tory Bute as his Prime Minister—not in order to build up the Tory party, but merely to use it as an instrument in strengthening his own position.

The Ministry under George III.

The new premier, however, did not last long; the nation as a whole was dissatisfied with the terms upon which he had ended the Seven Years' War; and the unpopularity of Jack of Bute was increased by the influence he shared with the king's mother. Jack boots draped with petticoats were hung derisively in public places; and in 1763 Bute gave up his place to a Whig, Grenville. The stubborn, unpopular Grenville lasted only two years; he was succeeded by another Whig faction led by Rockingham, who represented the older oligarchy—the "Old Connection," they were called, or "Little Englanders," because of their blindness to England's future as an empire extending beyond the British Isles. After still another shake-up, Pitt, who had become Earl of Chatham, returned to the ministry as a minor member of the so-called "Mosaic" Cabinet, which

was patched together out of representatives of half-a-dozen factions. The former Great Commoner, now a peer, was too ill to accomplish anything except the break-up of the make-shift cabinet to which he belonged. In 1770 the Mosaic Cabinet fell apart, and one of the ministers, the king's Tory friend Lord North, became premier.

North, an adroit party leader and a servile henchman of his royal master, was kept in office for twelve years, until the failure of the English campaign in America brought about his own downfall, and ended forever the royal hope of reducing the ministry to a mere agency of the Crown. The Rockingham Whigs returned to power; Rockingham's death left Shelburne as Prime Minister; and he in turn was forced out of office by a coalition containing the Prince of Wales's crony, Charles James Fox, which George III was pleased to call "My Son's Ministry."

A new personality, however, was making itself felt in English politics. The elder William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, had died; but he had left behind him a young son, William Pitt the Second, who, in addition to his own great gifts, had inherited much of his father's genius, though not his skill in oratory. As a boy the younger Pitt had read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* and had learned from it to doubt the accepted mercantile theory, according to which trade was restricted and colonies were exploited for the supposed benefit of the nation. William Pitt the Second was convinced that a nation achieved greatness by helping as many of its citizens as possible to success and happiness, and that mutual understanding, sympathy, and assistance among the various nations of the world were of great advantage to each of

The younger Pitt.

them. He considered it "weak and childish . . . to suppose any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another"; he was one of the first internationally minded statesmen.

In 1782 the younger Pitt became a member of Shelburne's cabinet. Two years later he and Fox came to blows; Pitt handled the situation so calmly, so courageously, that when Parliament expired and a general election was held, the people repudiated Fox's rotten Whigs and gave Pitt a working majority. In 1784 William Pitt became Prime Minister at the age of twenty-five; he built up a new, liberal Tory party about him, and with its support remained in office for seventeen years.

The party system had now been in abeyance ever since the old Tories had collapsed at the time of Queen Anne's death. While the first two Georges reigned, the Whig oligarchy had virtually controlled the country; and during the first thirty years of George III's régime, parties had played a much smaller part in English politics than had the king and other individual statesmen, politicians, and agitators. The Tory party had been a complete wreck ever since the days of Robert Walpole; and although George III put Tories in the ministry, he did so to further his own ends and not to help the party. The Whigs, too, seemed headed for the same ruin that had engulfed the Tories; they were broken up into factions; their greatest leader, the elder Pitt, had no regard for party lines; and the king's methods of personal coercion and bribery destroyed any lingering solidarity of spirit.

The nucleus of George III's influence in Parliament lay in a group of some one hundred and fifty members known

as the "King's Friends." These members held seats which were controlled by royal appointment or by voters subject to royal influence. Previous sovereigns had turned these seats over to the Prime Minister to strengthen his majority, but George III retained immediate control over them and used the puppets who filled them as tools to build up his own personal ascendancy.

The "King's Friends."

The King's Friends could be trusted to follow their royal leader docilely. It was not from them that opposition was to be feared, but rather from individual trouble-makers. Of these the most spectacular was John Wilkes, a member of the House of Commons, and the publisher of a political periodical, *The North Briton Review*. In Number 45, appearing in April, 1763, Wilkes denounced a royal speech in which George had defended the peace terms ending the Seven Years' War; the king himself was admonished, and his favorite Bute, then Prime Minister, was furiously assailed.

The Wilkes affair.

The government was enraged; it caused Wilkes's arrest, not on a warrant directed against him personally, but on a "general warrant" against everyone who might be connected with Number 45. When Wilkes's case came before the Court of Common Pleas, the Chief Justice released him, and made the decision that general warrants were illegal. The irrepressible Wilkes thereupon published a new, annotated edition of Number 45; the government opened another attack against him, and Wilkes, despite the storm of popular feeling in his favor, became so fearful of Court animosity that he fled to France for his life.

In his absence the House of Commons voted to expel

him; but four years later, in 1768, Wilkes returned and in a popular election was once more voted a seat in Parliament as member from Middlesex. There were, however, several legal charges still outstanding against him; he was clapped into prison, to be kept there for two years; and in a riot of his followers several people were killed in St. George's Fields, just outside the prison walls. All in all, Wilkes was a nuisance; and the House of Commons persisted in excluding him, while his supporters doggedly continued reëlecting him as their representative. Finally in 1774 a new Parliament met and admitted Wilkes to his seat. Eight years later this troublesome agitator's triumph became complete when he persuaded the House of Commons to expunge from its minutes the record of his previous expulsion; the Commons themselves, apparently, felt that they had had no right to exclude a duly elected member. Although Wilkes himself was morally worthless, he perhaps represented one phase of rebellion against the personal rule of the king, just as the American Revolution typified another.

The Junius Letters.

A generation later Lord Byron, in his *Vision of Judgment,* pictured Wilkes as called upon in heaven to testify against George III, and introduced for the same purpose Junius, "the Shadow of a Name." Junius was the pen-name of an anonymous satirist who criticized the government in a series of vigorous, well-informed, beautifully composed letters. The series ran for three years, arousing great popular interest and embarrassing the government painfully; despite the obvious importance of the writer, the mystery of his identity was never solved. Perhaps the best guess is that which identi-

fies Junius with Sir Philip Francis, a former assistant of the elder Pitt.

Edmund Burke.

A far greater man than either Wilkes or Junius, and one who exercised a far sounder influence upon late Eighteenth Century politics, was Edmund Burke. This inspired Irishman—orator, man of letters, politician—entered Parliament in 1765, and though he never won a cabinet position, he became the mainstay of the old-style Whigs. He and the elder Pitt, both nominally Whigs, were in their day the two greatest statesmen in England. Disagreeing on some fundamental principles of internal government, they united in favoring conciliation with the Colonies when the American Revolution broke out. At a time when few of the English people save the merchants, the Dissenting preachers, and the laboring classes sympathized with the American attitude, Burke and Pitt voiced the Whig opposition to war between England and the Colonies; and they vainly urged the government to grant every American claim except independence in order to end the war and keep the empire unbroken. In 1778 the elder Pitt died, long before the Colonists' victories had gained for them all the concessions that he advocated, and independence as well.

Burke survived for many years; one of his greatest achievements was the Economic Reform Bill, in 1782, which cut down the government's control over seats in the House of Commons and ended forever the wholesale Parliamentary corruption that had been practised by Walpole, Newcastle, and George III. It was Burke, too, who directed the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Governor General of India, and who denounced the French Revolution.

Today we remember Burke not only as a statesman but as one of the members of "the Club." In this small, informal group of friendly men of genius he was associated with Dr. Johnson, the dictator of London's literary taste; with Edward Gibbon, the historian of the Roman Empire's decline and fall; with the great actor David Garrick, who restored Shakespeare to the English stage; with Oliver Goldsmith, whose *Retaliation* lays bare the idiosyncrasies of other "Club" members; and with the great portrait painter Sir Joshua Reynolds, who as first president of the Royal Academy outlined in his polished *Discourses* the "classical" principles of taste in English art, and, with Romney and Gainsborough, made his era a golden age in English painting.

The Club.

When, toward the end of the third decade of George III's reign, William Pitt the Younger became Prime Minister, English political life was revived by the creation of a new party. The old Tories had been dead for years, and Pitt's elevation marked the temporary collapse of the Whigs; but the new premier gathered together a new Tory party, vigorous and forward-looking, that was destined to play an important part in English politics. By creating many new Tory peers, he built up the House of Lords as a stronghold of the new Tories.

Pitt detested the practices of bribery and corruption that had for so long vitiated the strength of Parliament. In 1784 he attempted to revise the system of Parliamentary representation, to abolish the "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs, and to distribute the seats in the House of Commons more fairly throughout the country. The attempt failed; Parliament itself rejected his reforms, and not until half

a century later was this essential task at last carried through. But as Prime Minister, Pitt himself could and did put a stop to corruption among his own followers. Burke's Economic Reform Bill had already abolished some of the worst abuses, and under Pitt Parliament at last became an independent, self-respecting body.

During the earlier years of George III's reign other changes took place in the whole structure of custom and law that makes up the English Constitution. As early as 1763 the rights of private citizens were strengthened by the abolition of general warrants, in connection with the Wilkes case. Grenville's Election Act in 1770 regulated the method for deciding disputed elections in Parliament; forty-nine members were to be chosen by lot, and this group was to be reduced to a committee of fifteen by allowing each party alternately to eliminate a single member. Of course, each party tried to cut out its strongest opponents; the process came to be called "knocking the brains out of the committee," but it created an unprejudiced, if undistinguished, committee; and it survived until late in the Nineteenth Century.

Developments in the Constitution.

A row between Parliament and the London printers in 1771 established the precedent of allowing Parliamentary proceedings to be published; as a result, the nation as a whole was able to learn how the government was acting, and George III was at last forced to surrender his power to his ministers.

In 1772 Chief Justice Mansfield decided that a slave brought into England automatically became free—a decision hailed by the poet Cowper in his *Task:*

"Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country, and their shackles fall."

Shortly after, a reformer named Howard secured the passage of bills regulating prisons, and relieving the conditions in which debtors, criminals, children, women, and the diseased, all herded together, suffered under the tyranny of brutal and grasping jailers. In 1778 Parliament passed certain Relief Acts removing some of the penalties imposed on Roman Catholics; despite the violent protests of intolerant Scotch Protestants, which culminated in the Lord George Gordon riots in London, the Relief Acts were allowed to stand.

The last echoes of the Wilkes affair were heard when the House of Commons finally admitted that it had no right to exclude a duly elected member. But Parliament by no means surrendered its right of self-determination; when George III secured the defeat of Fox's India Bill in 1783 by announcing that he would consider as an enemy any peer who voted for it, the Commons resolved that it was a high crime and misdemeanor to report the king's opinion on a pending bill in order to influence votes. And the House of Commons, although it was willing to free itself from royal control by passing Burke's Economic Reform Bill, was well enough satisfied with its own antiquated and unfair method of representing national sentiment, to throw out the younger Pitt's bill for Parliamentary reform.

British power in India.

While George III was winning a temporary victory over the newly established cabinet form of government, the new wine of freedom was inspiring England's colonies in America to rebel against the

mother country. Elsewhere in the empire there was comparative peace. In India, the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War had left England dominant; and the East India Company, which represented the English government, rapidly extended its sway. When the Company proved incapable of wielding its enormous power efficiently, the home government stepped in by the Regulating Act of 1773 and reorganized the whole system; Warren Hastings became Governor General. Hastings, with whose activities Lord Macaulay's essay makes us familiar, was a first-rate executive; but he was inexcusably severe and oppressive in his dealings with the native princes. Public sentiment in England did not approve of his methods; and in 1783 Fox introduced in Parliament a bill to transfer Indian control from the Company to a group of commissioners chosen by Parliament. Fox's bill failed, but a year later the younger Pitt persuaded Parliament to pass a measure by which the English Crown assumed partial control, while the Company retained some of its former power; this new arrangement remained in force until the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Pitt's opponents vented their spite on Warren Hastings when he returned to England in 1785. He was impeached before Parliament; in the trial, which dragged on for seven years, Burke as leader of the prosecution delivered some of his most glorious speeches, but Hastings was finally acquitted.

Agitation in Ireland.

Ireland, in the meantime, had again become unruly after a long period of tragic submission. Early in George III's reign a group of secret agitators known as the Whiteboys began venting their resent-

ment against English and Protestant domination by stealthy raids and uprisings. Two decades later, when the royal troops had been withdrawn for service elsewhere, the Irish Protestants themselves formed a volunteer defense corps and forced the English Parliament to remove some of the oppressive restrictions placed upon Ireland. The Irish Parliament was made nominally independent of England, and for eighteen years Ireland enjoyed a sort of Home Rule.

The colonization of Australia.

Not long after the loss of the American Colonies, England extended the empire in another direction. In 1798 a settlement for English convicts was established in Botany Bay, on the Australian coast, and from this nucleus English control gradually spread over the southernmost continent.

The loss of the American Colonies.

But it was in America that English imperialism had its greatest adventure in the Eighteenth Century; and in America freedom won the day. The American Colonies had been settled during the Seventeenth Century by English Puritans, Cavaliers, and other groups out of favor with the home government at the time of their coming to America. The distance from Europe, the poor means of communication, the new frontier environments, the preoccupation of England with internal and Continental affairs during the period of colonization, all caused the growth in the Colonies of a viewpoint different from that of the mother country. The former could not understand certain constitutional changes that had occurred in England. Each of the Colonies had received a charter granting representation and taxing

privileges, and after the granting of the charters the Colonies had been allowed to take care of themselves from the time of their founding until 1763.

That year saw the French menace—a potent reason for the Colonies' dependence upon England—removed from North America. At the same time, however, Britain decreed that the restless, land-seeking colonists along the Atlantic coast were to avoid Indian trouble by remaining east of the Alleghanies. Not long after that decree, the home government extended the province of Quebec, populated by the feared and hated French Catholics, to the Ohio River. With that act the seeds of discontent began to be sown.

Not only were the Colonists excluded from the west, but they were also asked by the English Parliament, a body in which they were not represented and to which they did not owe their charters, to defray part of the English debt occasioned by the French and Indian War. In 1764 a Customs Act was passed to restrain the colonies from smuggling and to collect revenue from them, and the following year Parliament levied a Stamp Tax, requiring revenue stamps on legal documents. The funds collected through this tax were to be used in supporting English soldiers in America; the home government planned to quarter these soldiers in American private houses, an arrangement which rendered the tax doubly distasteful.

This act squarely raised the issue of Parliament's right to levy an internal tax on the Colonies. The Colonists claimed that since they were not represented in the English Parliament, Parliament had no right to tax them. No taxation without representation! Even in England there was

much opposition to the measure. Liberal spirit was permeating English thought; even in literature the conservative standards of the earlier Eighteenth Century "neo-classicism" were breaking down; looser verse forms, unusual subjects, and daringly imaginative attitudes were becoming popular. But George III and his ministers were equally proof against liberalism and against common-sense. The elder Pitt, who might have blocked the offensive legislation, was ill in bed; and the Stamp Tax went into effect.

It was greeted in America by a storm of rebellious opposition on the part of lawyers, editors, and other persons whose legal papers and publications would have been taxed. It was unfortunate that the Stamp Tax affected the pocketbooks of potential propagandists. The home government saw that it had made a misstep and withdrew the tax, but in the following year by the Townshend Acts imposed heavy duties on American trade. From then on it was only a matter of time before an open break.

For nine years, England muddled along, while the situation grew steadily more acute. All the Townshend duties except those on tea were removed; then in 1773 in order to help the East India Company dispose of a surplus stock of tea, the government permitted large shipments to be sent to America for sale at a discount. A gang of Boston citizens, who had been involved in a riot with the English soldiers three years before (the Boston Massacre), dressed up as Indians and dumped a shipload of tea overboard in the famous Boston Tea-party.

In retaliation Parliament passed the four "Intolerable Acts" curtailing the privileges of the Colony of Massa-

chusetts. Feeling rose higher and higher, particularly when the venerable Benjamin Franklin was heckled in England for permitting the publication in America of certain letters rather damaging to the English position. Two Continental Congresses of the American Colonies met to prepare resistance; Benjamin Franklin was sent to secure aid in France, where he spread revolutionary propaganda that helped precipitate the French Revolution a few years later. Skirmishes were fought at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill; and on July 4, 1776, the Colonists, having decided to fight not only for their rights as Englishmen but also for their own independence, issued the Declaration of Independence.

In the war, England was handicapped from the start. Although the Colonists were by no means harmonious among themselves, and the rebels were only a strong minority except in New England, the American armies had as their leader a very great commander, George Washington. Moreover, the Americans were familiar with the country in which the struggle was to be fought, and had had plenty of first-hand experience in frontier warfare. Public opinion in favor of the Revolution had been aroused in 1775 by the *Common Sense* of Tom Paine, who was later to champion the French Revolution and to attack both Christianity and atheism in his *Rights of Man* and *Age of Reason*. The English, on the other hand, were not solidly united behind George III and Lord North; many Englishmen sympathized with the rebels. The English generals who were sent to America were Whigs, opposed to the party then in power in England; naturally they were not very zealous in carrying on campaigns sponsored by that party.

In addition, Adam Smith's influential *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776 and stressed the fact that a monopoly over a nation's colonies was not necessary, and that a home government might observe the *laissez faire*—"Leave them alone!"—policy toward dependencies as well as toward individuals. The war was so unpopular in the mother country that it was impossible to get enough English soldiers, and the ranks had to be filled with hired Germans. England's military leaders, too, were not properly trained to conduct colonial campaigns. And on more than one occasion the weather helped the Colonies by making a river impassable for pursuing English troops after the fleeing Americans were safely across.

But it took the Americans a year or more to get under way. In the autumn of 1777 the defeat of the English General Burgoyne at Saratoga put a stop to his plan of cutting off New England from the rest of the Colonies. During the following winter Washington's undisciplined frontiersmen were whipped into shape for organized warfare by a German military expert, Baron Steuben. Encouraged by the outcome of Saratoga, the French openly joined the Colonists in 1778; in the following year Spain too declared war on England; and in 1780 a number of European nations banded together in an Armed Neutrality that bade England keep its hands off neutral shipping.

The situation was growing desperate; harassed by a combination of enemies on the high seas, distracted by domestic opposition to the war, and faced by the dogged resistance of the Colonists, England at last gave up the struggle. The English army under Cornwallis surrendered in 1781 at Yorktown, Virginia, when it was bottled up by

the Americans under Washington on land, while the French fleet prevented English withdrawal by sea. In the following year England acknowledged the independence of the United States of America, and in 1783 by the Treaties of Paris and Versailles peace was finally established among various belligerents.

The Industrial Revolution.

Despite the loss of the American Colonies, there was a bright side to the history of the first part of George III's reign. Much more important than any constitutional developments were the great strides taken by the nation's industries, and the great changes in the English way of life. In the 1760's blast furnaces were coming into use in the infant iron industry, and experiments were made with coal as fuel. There was plenty of iron ore and coal stored away deep in the earth, but the miners were barely able to scratch the surface, for they had no pumps strong enough to keep water out of the lower levels.

At the same time new inventions were changing the nature of the textile industry. Wool and flax had previously been spun into thread and woven into cloth by hand in the home; now an automatic spinning jenny was perfected, and this in turn led to the construction of a spinning mill, operated by horse or water power. The importation of raw cotton from the colonies added to the volume of the textile industry; at first it was used only in combination with wool or flax, but in 1774 (the year when the discovery of oxygen threw a new light on the whole science of chemistry) the manufacture of pure cotton fabrics was permitted.

For a time there was an overproduction of yarn and thread, for cloth-weaving was still done mostly by hand

and the cloth-weavers could not keep up with the automatic spinning machines. But in 1785 a power loom for weaving was invented, and in the same year steam was successfully harnessed to provide the motive power for machinery. James Watt had been trying for some time to develop a steam engine that could be used industrially; his success was perhaps the greatest single factor in bringing about the Industrial Revolution. Steam pumps opened up the mines; steam spinning mills produced innumerable spools of thread; steam looms turned out an endless stream of fabrics.

In the textile industry, the domestic system of home manufacture went to smash immediately. Individual handworkers could not hope to compete with the new factories. At first the outmoded handicraftsmen vented their resentment by mobbing the factories and breaking the machines; later they learned to accept employment in the mills, and to settle down with their families in slum communities, little factory cities, clustered about.

The self-supporting villages of an older day gradually decayed; in their place grew up modern factory towns. But certain industries were necessarily restricted to certain localities; the pottery industry, for example, was localized near the clay fields. The northwestern part of England proper, the West Midlands, became the center of most of the iron and textile manufacturing. Coal, iron, and water were all available there; the moist climate kept thread from breaking; and in this isolated, previously undeveloped region the old-fashioned gilds, which interfered with modern industrialism, had never gained much of a foothold.

As industry became localized, there arose an acute

transportation problem. A single village could no longer produce all that it consumed; Wedgwood's pottery, and the machinery and cloth made in the West Midlands, were demanded in markets all over England. The difficulty was partially solved by the building of canals; in 1761 the first canal with locks was constructed; it reduced the cost of transportation seventy-five per cent, and by the end of George III's reign there were three thousand miles of canals in England.

Canals and roads.

Internal trade was made easier also by the improvement of roads. Some five hundred acts for repairing old roads were passed during the new king's early years; well-constructed toll roads, on which the traveler paid a small fee, were extended over the kingdom; and communities previously isolated by winter storms were brought into close contact with the new markets and producing centers.

The easy-going life of an earlier day went out of style; the tremendously increased speed of living was one symptom of the fundamental alteration in the English social and economic scheme, which we now call the Industrial Revolution. Adam Smith's economic theory suggested that the individual should be freed from restrictions and allowed to pursue gain in his own way. This principle, applied to the mushroom industries of England, stimulated competition; a new class of industrial leaders developed, who made fortunes out of their factories over night. The national income increased practically tenfold during the Eighteenth Century; and England developed and stored up resources sufficient to make Britain one of the chief factors in the overthrow of the legions of the great Napoleon a generation later. The

The new economic theory.

old colonial system, by which the outlying dominions of the empire were forced to trade for the benefit of Mother England, began slowly to give place to a policy of free trade; and by the Eden Treaty in 1787 free commerce was permitted between France and Great Britain.

Free trade and free competition were not, however, a blessing to all classes. The gradual decay of village life and the abolition of small farms were setting an enormous number of agricultural laborers adrift; during George III's reign some three thousand Enclosure Acts did their share toward freezing out the petty independent farmers. At the same time the population was increasing rapidly; it doubled during the Eighteenth Century alone, and in 1800 the total number of Englishmen was nine million.

The new laboring class.

The new factories absorbed a vast number of the unemployed agriculturalists and created a new laboring class—factory hands. But a vast number remained homeless and jobless. As a result, competition among laborers was acute, and the manufacturers, unembarrassed by restrictions, were able to reduce wages to a minimum, and to maintain incredibly bad factory and living conditions.

The population of England was shifting not only from villages to cities, but also from the placid agricultural regions in the south and east to the hectic industrial centers in the West Midlands. Freed from the moral conventions of their old homes, and from the kindly supervision of country squire and village clergyman, the laborers sank into bestiality. They were further degraded by poverty and disease in the factory slums where they had been forced to live, and by long hours of mechanical toil indoors. The

horribly vivid pictures of decaying village and mushroom town presented by the poet Crabbe in his *Village* and *Borough* do not greatly exaggerate conditions that actually existed in the late Eighteenth Century. This darker side of the Industrial Revolution produced the sweat shop, child labor, and the other evils that have cursed modern industrialism. In 1787 an English Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was formed, and the reformer Howard was already doing much to alleviate the scandalous conditions in the prisons. But in the boisterous free-for-all race for industrial success, no one worried much about the "free" laborer, and much water was to flow under many bridges before the nation recognized its responsibility to him.

But there was one agency already at work, doing its best to establish some sort of moral order in the new laboring class. That was the Methodist movement; under the leadership of the Wesleys, chapels were being erected, and great open-air meetings were held for preaching, prayer, and hymn-singing. The heroic and generous Methodists, whose greatest work was done among the lower classes, deserve England's eternal gratitude; it was they who saved England's labor from being completely demoralized in the Industrial Revolution.

During the years when England's industrial life was developing so rapidly, few changes were made in the financial system of the State. The younger Pitt was, however, responsible for certain reforms. When he became premier in 1784, the national credit was not good. The government stocks, called "Three Per Cents" (because they paid three per cent interest) or "Consols" (because the

Financial reforms.

interest was paid from a consolidated fund), were selling at much below par. Widespread smuggling was seriously cutting into the national revenues. Pitt checked smuggling by framing effective laws and by reducing some of the high import duties which made it profitable. His next step was to consolidate the different branches of the customs and excise; previously many different duties were charged on one article. By a series of some three thousand measures Pitt grouped all these charges into a single duty on each article; this reform greatly increased the net revenue by reducing the cost of collection. Pitt also attempted to build up a Sinking Fund which should eventually pay off the National Debt, by laying aside surplus income each year. Unfortunately, when hard times came, it was more costly to build up the Sinking Fund than to carry the old debt. When the government finally realized this fact, several decades later, the Sinking Fund was abolished; but not before it had cost England some £20,000,000.

These changes in financial policy were dictated partially at least by the new industrial conditions of the late Eighteenth Century. The Industrial Revolution was the third of the great triumphs of the modern spirit which George III was forced to witness during the first half of his reign. When that era drew to an end in the late 'Eighties, the king had already lost his best colonies; he had lowered England's international prestige; and he had been forced to give up his own personal ascendancy. He was glad to throw himself on the mercy of the younger Pitt, and to content himself with peace and the shadow of power as best he could, until in 1788 he fell a victim to a temporary attack of in-

sanity. Although he recovered, and the threatened Regency of the Prince of Wales was postponed, his troubles were not over. A year later the French Revolution broke out, and before that mighty turmoil resolved itself into the Napoleonic wars and they in turn came to an end, poor George III had sunk into blind and hopeless imbecility.

CHAPTER XIII

FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ENGLISH REFORM

(1789-1837)

"O France, that mockest Heaven, adulterous, blind,
And patriot only in pernicious toils!
Are these thy boasts, Champion of human kind?
To mix with Kings in the low lust of sway,
Yell in the hunt, and share the murderous prey;
To insult the shrine of Liberty with spoils
From freemen torn; to tempt and to betray?"

COLERIDGE, *France: an Ode.*

The growth of democratic spirit.

The half-century of English history that begins with George III's loss of the American Colonies and of his own personal ascendancy, and ends with the accession of Queen Victoria, is distinguished chiefly by the growth of a democratic spirit. Three different sovereigns ruled during this period. The sixty-year reign of George III ended in 1820, after his blindness and insanity, and the Regency of the Prince of Wales. Then the Regent became King George IV, to be succeeded after a decade by his sailor-brother William IV. In 1837 William died, leaving the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to his niece Victoria. Despite frequent changes in the personnel of the cabinet during these years, the new Tory party, reconstructed by the younger Pitt, remained in power continuously until 1830, growing gradually less narrow and reactionary in its principles, and finally changing its name to Conservative.

But, under whatever kings and ministers, the English people were scenting new doctrines of equality and freedom in the air; stimulated by the breath of liberty, they were exploring strange paths in politics and in literature; and they were gradually working their way toward a reorganization of the government which would provide them with at least a province in the Utopia they sought. Not until 1832 did this reorganization commence, in the great Reform Bill which began the fundamental alterations of the elections to Parliament. But the series of steps that led up to this change had begun over forty years previously, across the Channel in France.

The whole process of revolution and reform in France and England, lasting from 1789 to 1837, can be divided logically into four stages: first, the Revolution in France; second, the English war against the French radicals; third, the English war against Napoleon's military despotism; and finally, the victory of political and social reform in England itself.

The lurid flower of revolt that burst into blossom over the battlements of Paris was itself no midsummer night's growth; its roots lay deep in French history. Since the days of the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV, a century before the Revolution, the responsibilities of administering the State had been concentrated in a compact, highly organized central government. As a result, the nobility had had ample leisure to develop an extravagant and artificial society. The wars of the Sun King and of his successors, Louis XV and Louis XVI, had saddled France with enormous debts. The expensive vices and follies of the nobility

The conditions in France leading up to the French Revolution.

had added to this burden, which was borne almost entirely by the common people; the other two "estates" that made up the French nation—the nobles and the clergy—were practically untaxed.

At the same time that the people were being goaded past endurance by poverty and oppression, doctrines of liberty and the rights of man were being preached freely. Ideas of human equality hatched in England flew across the Channel and came to roost with similar ideas in fashionable Parisian drawing-rooms, where grand ladies, bored with playing dairy maid in the royal parks, made a fad of them. Witty but earnest philosophers attacked Church and State; impassioned romancers glorified the natural man; Montesquieu, Voltaire, the Encyclopedists, and Rousseau all played their parts in preparing for an unforeseen eruption that would destroy the monarchy and the Catholic Church, and enthrone the Paris mobs beside the Goddess of Reason. From America, too, came exciting tidings of the possibilities latent in popular rebellion and sovereignty; Benjamin Franklin, in France on a mission to gain aid for the Colonies, and Lafayette, returning home after having helped secure American Independence, did their share in leading France to revolution.

In 1789 the financial problems of the court, aggravated by the extravagance of Louis XVI's Austrian queen, Marie Antoinette, became so acute that the king decided to summon the Three Estates to meet and propose a solution. Almost two centuries had passed since the French people had had a voice in national affairs; when the representatives of nobles, clergy, and commoners finally assembled, no one knew just how they were to be organized.

But once the Assembly had met in the royal palace of Versailles, near Paris, it was too late to retrace any steps. The Deputies representing the Third Estate, the commoners, outnumbered all the others, and insisted on having a controlling voice in the deliberations; when the king locked them out of their meeting place, they crowded into his tennis court and took the Oath of the Tennis Court never to disband till they had won a constitution for France. The king, in alarm, tried in vain to cow the Assembly by calling in the aid of the army; then the citizens of Paris took a hand, storming an old political prison, the Bastille, on July 14, 1789. The French Revolution had begun.

The beginning of the French Revolution, 1789.

The English philosopher-historian of a later generation, Carlyle, has left in his *French Revolution* a vigorous, colorful account of the progress of this national upheaval; Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* presents many imaginative pictures of the rising of the Parisian mobs. Once the conflagration had begun, it spread with amazing speed and violence.

The Assembly abolished the privileges and titles of the hated nobility; "Citizen" became the common title of all Frenchmen. Then the Revolutionists framed a Declaration of Rights, and brought the royal family to Paris for safe-keeping; as yet there was no thought of abolishing the monarchy, but only of limiting it by constitutional restrictions, and of giving the common people a voice in the government.

In 1792, however, the Assembly was succeeded by a more radical Convention. The king was caught in an attempted flight, deposed, and imprisoned along with all the aristo-

crats on whom the people could lay hands. In the meantime nobles who had fled to Austria and Prussia roused those monarchies to intervene in defense of Louis XVI; and the Duke of Brunswick, after issuing a threatening manifesto, began an unsuccessful invasion of France for that purpose.

The angry Parisians, in the September massacres of 1792, slaughtered the imprisoned aristocrats. Then, drunk with their newfound freedom and power, and made desperate by seeing all the monarchs of Europe planning to invade France to restore the king, they announced to the world that they were ready to lend aid to the people of any nation that wished to overthrow its sovereign, much as the Russian revolutionists of our own day attempted to spread their influence in other countries. French armies, raised and armed by Carnot, the "Organizer of Victory," drove out the enemy and invaded the Netherlands; and the overthrow of the French monarchy was made complete by the execution of the king. Early in 1793 Louis XVI was sent to the guillotine, a beheading machine named after its inventor and devised as an efficient instrument for getting rid of the enemies of the State.

The English attitude toward the French Revolution.

All these untoward happenings in France were viewed with mixed feelings across the Channel in England. Englishmen had won their own constitutional freedom by a gradual evolutionary process, culminating in the bloodless revolution of 1688. Pitt, the Prime Minister and head of the new Tories, trusted that France would soon achieve a settled constitutional government; Fox, the leader of the Whig opposition, sympathized with the French people in

their struggle for liberty, though he deprecated their violent methods. Among literary men, the more advanced thinkers, the lovers of freedom and of humanity, praised the Revolutionists as the forerunners of a new age of brotherhood; the Scotch poet Burns, recently appointed as an excise officer, took advantage of his position to release a shipload of arms for the use of the rebels. Wordsworth, traveling in France, hailed the new order enthusiastically, as he tells us in *The Prelude,* and would have enlisted in the Revolutionary army had not his cautious family cut off his pocket-money. Coleridge thought at first that Liberty had achieved incarnation in Paris. Tom Paine defended the French Revolution in prose, and numerous Revolution clubs sprang into being.

One great political leader, however, from the start feared and distrusted the new movement in France. Edmund Burke, in a masterly prose pamphlet, *Reflections on the Revolution in France,* as early as 1790 opened the floodgates of his wrath upon the French experiment, and denounced its English sympathizers. He attacked the Prime Minister, Pitt, for standing calmly by while the age of chivalry came to an end; and he broke off his intimate friendship with Fox because that gracious personality did not share his own opinions.

Although Burke's pamphlet sold widely among the people, it at first found few supporters in the English government. But when the intoxicated Frenchmen issued their threat against all the established monarchies of the world, England realized that it was faced by a real danger at home as well as abroad. The danger

The outbreak of war between England and Revolutionary France, 1793.

became acute when French Revolutionary armies invaded the Netherlands; England has never dared permit a strong hostile power to control the Dutch ports across the Channel, and Pitt began to fear that war was inevitable. The execution of the French king intensified the danger, and France itself effected an open break by declaring war a few days later, on February 1, 1793. The first stage in England's experience of radical democracy had come to an end, and for the moment it looked as if the English government had forever turned its back on progress in that direction.

The Reign of Terror.

With the execution of Louis XVI and the declaration of war against England, the French Revolutionary government advanced to a newer and more aggressive position. A radical group, known as the Jacobins and led by Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, seized control of affairs, and precipitated a Reign of Terror which lasted for a year and a half. The guillotine was kept busy slicing off heads indiscriminately; not only the nobles, the aristocrats, and the émigrés or Royalist fugitives, but also all persons suspected of opposing the Jacobins, were slaughtered wholesale. The streets of Paris ran with blood, as the knitting women of the slums counted off the falling heads one by one. But the Jacobins were after all only a violent minority, and the days of their supremacy were numbered. The saner element among the French people finally turned against them; Marat was assassinated by Charlotte Corday, and Danton and Robespierre died on the very guillotine to which they had sent so many victims.

In 1795 a well-organized committee called the Directory succeeded the Jacobins; during the four years that the

Directorate survived, an efficient government was built up, and French armies arose which swept all before them. An aggressive national pride and genius for vigorous, direct management had survived from the days of the Grand Monarch; to these was united the passionate enthusiasm of a great people released from centuries of serfdom to a consciousness of their own destiny. French recruits flocked to the colors, submitted to rigorous discipline, and fought like demons for the French Republic and its principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The Directory.

Among the officers of the new army was a young Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte. Spurred by intense ambition and aided by an inflexible oneness of purpose and a rare genius for military affairs, Napoleon rose rapidly to a commanding position. He was fortunate in living at a time when all the other nations of Europe were either on the decline, or had not begun their modern ascent. Thanks to the Revolution, the French people were the first to feel the impulse of nationalism; and the populous nation of France, unified by the stirring watchwords of the Revolution, was a weapon perfectly suited to Napoleon's hand. Then again, Bonaparte was aided in his rise by several generals who were almost as great as he himself; the majority of them met death on the battlefield or retired at times most opportune for their master.

The rise of Napoleon.

On his return from a campaign in Egypt in 1799, Napoleon overthrew the Directory and set up a Consulate to rule France, with himself as First Consul, an office which he still held when the first war against England came to an end in 1802.

During this nine-year war, England did not achieve any remarkable success, except at sea. At the outset the nation was itself distracted by revolutionary unrest. Early agitators for Spanish-American independence, led by Miranda, had established a lodge in London. Many radical associations not only sympathized with the Revolution in France, but also hoped to overthrow their own monarchy. Agitators like Paine preached violent democracy; the philosopher-novelist Godwin, in his *Political Justice* and *Caleb Williams,* attacked the institutions that oppressed the common man and prevented him from achieving the natural goodness that was his birthright; poets like Wordsworth and Coleridge denounced England's alliance with European despots to crush the French people, and Coleridge with his brother-in-law Southey planned to establish an ideal free community in America.

Revolutionary thought in England.

Pitt and his Tory party were rudely jolted out of their serene security by France's declaration of war, and by the Reign of Terror. Severe penal laws and repressive censorship checked radical agitation and the disturbances due to economic hard times; an outspoken liberal shoemaker, Hardy, was even tried for high treason, but a sensible English jury acquitted him and showed that England was in no mood for governmental tyranny. As the cruelty and arrogance of the French people became more apparent, many of their English apologists lost faith in them. Wordsworth recoiled from the September Massacres and the Reign of Terror; the deeply religious Coleridge was inexpressibly shocked when the Jacobins in 1793 enthroned an actress as Goddess of Reason in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. The

reactionary Tory party remained practically supreme; many conservative Whigs joined them; and the remnant of Whigs who remained faithful to their own party and to their leader Fox were associated in the popular mind with all the excesses of the most violent radicals. The Whigs lost their influence as an opposition party and as a check on the Tory government, but under Fox they survived, nevertheless, as a political party, and kept the precious principles of liberal democracy alive.

The younger Pitt as a war minister.

There were facts other than internal unrest to explain England's poor showing in the war against the French Republic. Pitt, who continued as Prime Minister until the year before hostilities ceased, was not a great war leader. He contented himself with sending small forces, poorly officered, against the French, and with supporting his allies by enormous loans and subsidies. The British navy was the only arm of the service which won any great victories.

Pitt's alliances and land campaigns failed primarily because they were in opposition to the spirit of the age. That spirit was incarnate in the risen French people, and against them Pitt was trying to patch up leagues of old-fashioned tyrannies to restore a decadent French monarchy to its exploded throne.

The First Coalition.

At the beginning of the war England made an alliance against France known as the First Coalition, of which Austria and Prussia were the other important members. This league was not a success; it gradually collapsed, until in 1797 England was left alone in the struggle. Three great naval victories, the "Glorious

First of June" in 1794, and Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown in 1797, made England supreme over France on the sea. Despite these victories, England's position was dangerously weak; even the navy was demoralized by serious mutinies among the under-paid and ill-fed sailors.

The French were steadily extending their sway over Europe; in 1797 they conquered Venice, providing Wordsworth with the subject for a fine sonnet *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*. In the following year French armies invaded the free republic of Switzerland; it was only six years since the Revolutionists had offered their aid to any people desiring freedom, and already they were imposing their own armed tyranny on another free state. This change in attitude was due less to the French people than to Napoleon, the man who came to represent France to the rest of Europe. But it was this change, for which the French people were blamed, that did more than anything else to estrange their sympathizers, and to make their own eventual defeat inevitable.

French attacks on Venice, Switzerland, and Egypt.

Napoleon, who had by this time risen to prominence, decided to launch an attack against the English power in India, as he was unable to get an army across the Channel and land in England in the face of his enemy's victorious fleets. In 1798 the Little Corporal, as his soldiers affectionately called him, crossed the Mediterranean and led his army into Egypt, as a first step in his Oriental campaign. Luckily for the English their greatest sea-fighter, Nelson, managed to destroy the French fleet at the mouth of the Nile. Napoleon's communications were cut off, and he

was forced to return home; at the same time a native rebellion which he had fostered against the English in India collapsed for lack of his support.

Pitt now joined Russia and Austria in a Second Coalition; but that, like its predecessor, fell apart, when Napoleon, having declared himself Consul, won the friendship of the Russian Czar, and then crushed the Austrians at Marengo, in 1800.

The Second Coalition.

Napoleon, however, was having his troubles. Toussaint l'Ouverture, the hero of Wordsworth's sonnet of that name, aided by a climate unhealthy for Frenchmen, led a successful revolt of negroes in the French colony of Santo Domingo. And Napoleon failed in his effort to get a league of northern states to stifle England's commerce, as the Armed Neutrality had done during the American Revolution; the English put a stop to that threat by bombarding Copenhagen in 1801.

Both the two main combatants were now eager for a little breathing space. Pitt had resigned when he found himself unable to carry through his plan for the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, and his successor, Addington, in 1802 signed the Peace of Amiens with France. This peace attempted to patch up the differences between the two nations; among other things the English king gave up the title of King of France, which he had claimed ever since the days of Edward III, the French lilies were cut out of the English royal coat of arms, and England recognized the French Republic. But the treaty in reality accomplished nothing except to bring an end to the first war with Revolutionary France, and to give England a brief respite before the outbreak of a

The Peace of Amiens, 1802.

second and more terrible war a year later. As Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the witty playwright and politician, remarked, it was a peace that "all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of."

In the meantime, the English had been having fresh troubles in Ireland. Back in 1782 the Irish had taken advantage of the American War to force the distracted mother country to grant independence to the Irish Parliament, but as a matter of fact the native Irish Catholics, who composed the great majority of the inhabitants of the island, gained nothing by this gesture. Severe laws denied the Catholics any political power, and grasping English landlords continued their economic oppression. Secret Catholic associations like the "Peep of Day Boys" harassed their oppressors and often came into open conflict with groups of "Orangemen," Protestant Anglicans. Wolfe Tone, an Irish patriot, tried to unite the Catholics with the Dissenting Protestant natives of Ulster (in the north of Ireland), but the two elements could not coöperate, and the Society of United Irishmen accomplished little.

Rebellion in Ireland.

When France and England went to war, the French Revolutionists tried to embarrass the enemy by sending aid to the Irish agitators, but this movement was crushed in a battle at Vinegar Hill. Finally in 1798 the tormented Irishmen started a revolution on their own account, and for a time Irish and English, Catholics and Protestants, massacred each other at will, until the English government with a strong hand crushed the rebellion.

Conditions in Ireland remained deplorable; Pitt now decided that the only thing to do was to unite the two

countries, as England and Scotland had been united a century before. By threats, bribes, promises, and cajolery he got both English and Irish Parliaments to pass a bill which in 1801 joined the two nations in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with one Parliament meeting in England and containing Irish representatives.

The Union of Ireland and Great Britain.

Unfortunately, however, this union did not work out as well as the union between England and Scotland had done. Catholics were still excluded from political life by the English Test Act, and this kept the great majority of Irishmen in subjection to the hated Protestants. Pitt was determined to "emancipate" these Catholics, but stubborn George III would not hear of such a thing, and Pitt was forced to resign. Not until a quarter of a century later was Roman Catholic Emancipation finally accomplished.

The Peace of Amiens lasted for only fourteen months. Napoleon's inordinate ambition to rule the world had changed the entire complexion of the French Revolutionary movement. Realizing that their own national existence was imperiled by Bonaparte's policies, the English once more declared war upon him; the Napoleonic wars that opened in May, 1803, lasted for a dozen years.

The beginning of the war against Napoleon.

With the reopening of hostilities, Pitt once more became Premier, and carrying on his old methods, built up a Third Coalition, of Russia, Austria and England. Napoleon, dissatisfied with the title of First Consul, decided in 1804 to be crowned emperor. He imported the Pope to Paris for this purpose, and then at the last moment snatched the imperial crown and set it on his head himself.

The Third Coalition.

The First Empire which he founded survived for a decade. Napoleon's next plan was to invade England; but the French fleet which he needed to protect his passage across the Channel was destroyed by the English at Trafalgar (1805), where Nelson, the English commander, died at the moment of victory. The chances of a French invasion of England were destroyed forever. The French emperor, sensing that his naval plans were not being carried out, began a land campaign; leading his invincible armies across the Rhine, he smashed the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz and broke up the Third Coalition.

Crushed by this blow, and not realizing that Trafalgar was far more important than Austerlitz, the younger Pitt died early in 1806. Thereafter there were four changes of ministry before the war ended, but the Tory party remained in power, and an efficient Secretary for War, Castlereagh, guided the English arms to victory.

Napoleon now inaugurated two new policies, one economic and the other political, both of which were destined to cause him untold trouble. His economic scheme was to hamstring England by blockading the British Isles and closing all the ports of Europe to English commerce. This Continental System he announced in his Berlin Decree of 1806 and in subsequent declarations; practically every nation on the continent of Europe he forced into the System. This measure, however, antagonized many of his dependent states by embarrassing their own commerce; it interfered with the neutral trade of the United States; and it was never really successful, for Napoleon had no navy strong enough to make it effective. Evasions and exemptions, many of the

Napoleon's Continental System.

latter granted by Napoleon himself, were the order of the day.

England retaliated by its Orders in Council, 1807, which forbade neutral trade with Napoleon and his allies. These Orders hampered American commerce even more than the Continental System was able to do, for the English fleets were strong enough to enforce them. When the British took to stopping American ships, confiscating their cargoes, and kidnaping seamen of British birth, the resentment of the United States rose to such a height that it ended in war against England in 1812.

The English Orders in Council.

Napoleon's new and dangerous political policy was to set up his relatives and generals as kings over the European states he controlled. One general, Bernadotte, who was later to assist in causing Napoleon's downfall, became king of Sweden; his family reigns in Sweden today, the only survivor among several royal houses established by Napoleon. Bernadotte popularized among the Swedes the name Oscar, which Napoleon himself had picked up in one of his favorite books, the so-called "Ossianic" poems of the Scottish writer Macpherson. The different peoples of Europe, however, resented the new rulers whom Napoleon placed over them, and their uprisings against Napoleonic domination finally broke his power.

Popular uprisings against Napoleon.

Not until the English, under Castlereagh, learned to coöperate with these desperate risings, did England finally lead Europe to victory over the French emperor. In 1808 Napoleon attempted to overrun Spain and Portugal and to set up his brother Joseph as

The Peninsular Campaign.

king of Spain. The English sent an army to the Spanish peninsula to aid their ancient allies, the Portuguese, and to encourage Spanish resistance to Napoleon; one of the events in the six-year Peninsular Campaign was the death of an English commander, Sir John Moore, at Corunna, which inspired Charles Wolfe's sombre lyric, *The Burial of Sir John Moore*. Finally the English under a great general who later became Duke of Wellington, the "Iron Duke," drove the enemy out of Spain and invaded France in 1814.

In the meantime George III had become blind and hopelessly insane, and his place was taken in 1811 by the Prince of Wales, who became Prince Regent. The Regent, a dull, dissipated muddler, was hated and despised by the liberal, democratic minority that still survived in English politics. One liberal editor and poet, Leigh Hunt, attacked the Regent in his paper, and got himself jailed for two years for his pains. Hunt in jail became a popular martyr, and gathered a loyal group of liberal sympathizers about him. When his prison term ended in 1815, the young poet Keats was one of the first to hail his release.

The Regency in England.

England was further distracted by the War of 1812 with the United States, which was originally provoked by the Orders in Council hindering American trade and by a group of men known as "War Hawks," led by Henry Clay, who were willing and anxious to fight both France and England. They finally selected the latter and engaged in a struggle which lasted for two years, and which accom-

England's War of 1812 against the United States.

plished practically nothing, as the troublesome Orders had already been revoked before the war ended.

Napoleon's collapse.

Napoleon, finding that his Spanish plans were not thriving, began an invasion of Russia in 1812. This was the worst mistake he ever made; the Russian people rose against him; Moscow, where he planned to spend the winter, was intentionally destroyed by fire by the Russians; and the French emperor was forced to retreat, with the surviving remnant of his once-mighty army.

His ship had wrecked itself on the reefs of Spanish and Russian popular nationalism, and the rats now began to desert. Prussia and Austria rose against him and administered a smashing defeat at Leipzig, in 1813. In the next year the allies, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, invaded France itself, occupied Paris, and forced Napoleon to abdicate, sending him off to Elba, an island in the Mediterranean. A Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, brother to the guillotined Louis XVI, was restored to the throne of France, and the victorious allies adjourned to Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe.

The Hundred Days and Waterloo.

The deliberations of this Congress of Vienna were roughly interrupted when Napoleon returned to France in 1815. His loyal subjects, devoted to him personally and resenting their lost prestige, rose in his support, and the governments of Europe once more trembled in their shoes. Even across the Channel in England the national morale was for a moment shaken; in the financial flurry Mr. Sedley, father of Amelia in *Vanity Fair,* was forced into bankruptcy.

But Napoleon's triumph lasted for only the Hundred

Days; Prussia and England sent great armies against him, and the Duke of Wellington together with Blücher destroyed his power at Waterloo, June 18, 1815, in one of the great battles of world history. The Napoleonic wars had at last come to an end; it is interesting to note that these wars provided the background for four masterpieces of world literature: Tolstoi's *War and Peace,* Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables,* Thackeray's *Vanity Fair,* and Thomas Hardy's *Dynasts.*

The defeated Napoleon abdicated again, and was sent for safe-keeping to St. Helena, a tiny island in the middle of the South Atlantic Ocean, where his eagle spirit fretted itself to death in six years. And the Congress of Vienna settled itself to restore the old-fashioned monarchies of Europe as they had existed before the French Revolution. Under the leadership of the romantic young Czar Alexander I, and the seasoned, reactionary diplomat Count Metternich of Austria, Austria and Prussia joined Russia in a Holy Alliance to unite all European rulers in a bond of Christian brotherhood. England held aloof from this Utopian scheme, but it did join the other three powers in a Quadruple Alliance, whose purpose was to preserve their monarchical governments and to stamp out the spirit of revolution. For the moment it seemed as if the fires of democracy had been quenched.

The Congress of Vienna.

But smouldering embers lingered everywhere, and in England they soon rose into leaping flame. With the coming of peace, liberal thought and democratic enthusiasm ceased to be treasonable, while post-war economic de-

The English movement toward Parliamentary Reform.

pression gave the agitators something to work on. Despite occasional assassination plots and threats of armed rebellion, the liberal movement in England was not directed towards the overthrow of the government, but rather towards the reform of Parliamentary elections, so as to allow more men to vote, and to provide a fairer system of representation.

The causes of the reform movement.

A number of different causes made such reform not only possible but necessary. For one thing, the Industrial Revolution had changed the social structure of the nation profoundly, and it was necessary to adjust the government to this new society. The population was shifting to the northwest, and increased representation was necessary for the new thickly populated districts. A rich and powerful manufacturing class was being created, which demanded a voice in the government. And an enormous body of rural and urban laborers had sprung into being, who were discontented with the conditions under which they lived and worked; the industrial workers were so closely concentrated in the factory towns that they were easily influenced by radical agitators. Parliament, however, was still controlled by the powerful landlords, who did little or nothing to meet the changed conditions, and worked only to protect themselves. In 1815, for instance, the landowners passed the Corn Laws, which protected their own agricultural interests by keeping up the price of grain, and added to the burden of the lower classes by making them pay a high price for bread.

The French and American Revolutions, too, had served to spread ideas of popular liberty; and the overthrow of Napoleon had demonstrated the possibility of putting down

espotism, and had left the English people in a position o agitate for freedom.

Finally, bold thinkers and writers encouraged the people o demand changes in the government; the utilitarian phi- osopher, Jeremy Bentham, weakened old-fashioned institu- ions by asking the devastating question, "What's the use f them?" And Cobbett, a loud-mouthed journalist, arried on the radical agitation that Tom Paine had fos- ered, and encouraged the readers of his *Political Register* o demand Parliamentary Reform as their one salvation.

The progress of reform during the twenty-two years rom Waterloo to the accession of Victoria is marked by a series of changes in the attitude of the ministers. From 1815 to 1822 the reac- onary wing of the Tory party remained in power, under nen like Castlereagh and Lord Eldon—firm, narrow- ninded administrators who had successfully broken the ower of Napoleon, but who had no sympathy with lib- ralism, and who entered whole-heartedly into the tyran- ical, antiquated policies of the Congress of Vienna.

The reactionary Tories, 1815-1822.

These men strove to cope with the spirit of reform by ampling on it. Severe laws were passed against seditious neetings, and government detectives like the notorious Oliver the Spy" ferreted out the sources of disturbance; spite of such measures there were sporadic mob riots. he "Derbyshire Insurrection" gave the government a real are; and a more serious outbreak occurred at Man- nester in 1819, where a number of people were killed in monster mass meeting at St. Peter's Fields; this massacre "Peterloo" (so called in contrast to Waterloo) inspired

the liberal poet Shelley to denounce the attitude of the government in his *Song to the Men of England* and *England in 1819.*

The Whig party in the meantime had ventured out of its retirement, and was urging the government to make some concessions to the demands of the people. The Whigs attempted to put an end to the oppressive income tax and the restrictions on political journalism; as a result the Whig party won popular support and gradually regained its strength.

The death of George III, 1820.

The death in 1820 of the "old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king," George III, had very little effect on the situation. The poet Southey, who had outgrown his radicalism and become laureate, wrote a *Vision of Judgment* in which he described the sainted George's reception into heaven; to this an outspoken rebel, Lord Byron, responded in another *Vision of Judgment,* ridiculing the obstinate, unenlightened policies of the late king. But the Prince Regent, who mounted the throne as George IV, was not the man to make fundamental changes in his father's government.

The character of George IV (1820-1830).

From the very beginning the new king antagonized his subjects. As early as 1785 he had secretly married a Roman Catholic, Mrs. Fitzherbert; but had been forced to separate from her because the law forbade the heir to the throne to marry a Catholic. As Regent he had won the enmity of forward-looking Englishmen; his treatment of his official wife, Caroline, added to his unpopularity. Having deserted her, George had her name omitted from the prayer book, and in very unsavory proceedings tried to divorce her. But

aroline was unwilling to be put aside; when her hus-
ınd was crowned, she created a scandal by trying to force
er way into Westminster Abbey to share in the coronation.
ı 1821 the poor lady died, but her relations with the king
ıd helped to discredit him in the eyes of the nation.

The Tories, realizing that they were losing ground, tried
1822 to save themselves by introducing a more liberal
element into the ministry. The two most important additions among these roadminded Tories were Peel and Canning. Robert Peel ventually won the gratitude of the nation by establishing civilian police force, which was much better qualified cope with mob risings than the temperamental soldiers ıd been; the nicknames of "bobbies" and "peelers" date om him.

ıe liberal Tories, 22-1830.

Canning showed his liberalism by his disregard for the oly Alliance. His predecessor Castlereagh had sympa-ized with the Continental monarchs' policy of stamping ıt popular freedom—a policy adopted by the Congress Vienna and carried out by the Holy Alliance. When anning became Foreign Secretary, he came to the aid of e Greeks, who were rebelling against their Turkish mas-rs, and of the South American colonies that were trying throw off the yoke of Portugal and Spain.

Greece had been for a long time subject to Turkey. In 03 a British ambassador to the Turks, Lord Elgin, had found the ancient Parthenon of Athens falling into ruin; he took from it many the magnificent marble carvings and brought them r safe-keeping to England, where the "Elgin Marbles" ve remained ever since, though it took the effort of

ıe Greek War Independence.

Keats's friend, the painter Benjamin Haydon, to make the English realize that the marbles were worth having. In 1821 the Greeks rose in revolt, and Canning later recognized them. The poet Byron gave the rebels much favorable publicity by joining their ranks; he died of fever in Greece in 1824. In 1827, immediately after Canning's death, a British fleet smashed the Turks at Navarino, and in 1829 Turkey renounced its claims and left the Greeks free.

Encouraged by revolutions elsewhere, a number of South American colonies likewise declared their independence. When the Holy Alliance prepared to crush them, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State of the United States, promulgated the famous Monroe Doctrine, 1823, warning the European powers to keep their hands off the American continents. And Canning, whose British ships controlled the high seas, was able to make that warning effective.

Revolutions in South America.

The last great achievement of the liberal Tories was the removal of religious restrictions on political life. In 1828 a Whig leader, Lord John Russell, put through Parliament a revision of the Test Act, making it easier for Protestant Dissenters to hold office. But the Roman Catholics were still disqualified; this disqualification was particularly unfair in Ireland, where most of the people were Catholics. As early as 1812 young Shelley had gone to Dublin in a quixotic attempt to emancipate the Irish Catholics; but the problem did not come to a head until 1828, when Daniel O'Connell, an Irish Catholic, was elected to Parliament. The Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, was now

Roman Catholic Emancipation, 1830.

Prime Minister; with commendable common sense he realized that something must be done to qualify O'Connell to take his seat in Parliament, and to pacify the Irish. Despite the frantic opposition of the king and of his own reactionary Tory supporters, Wellington in 1830 persuaded Parliament to pass a bill permitting Catholics to hold office.

Shortly thereafter George IV died, and was succeeded by his brother William IV. The new king was a sailor by profession; he had entered the navy as a midshipman, and had been the first English prince to visit the New World. This popular, broadminded ruler was sympathetic with the liberal movement in England—a movement which was much stimulated in 1830 by successful revolutions in France and Belgium; France got a new and presumably better king, and Belgium achieved its independence of Holland and won a king of its own. With William's accession the Whig party at last returned to power, and retained it for eleven years, except for one brief interval when the liberal Tories, or Conservatives, as they now called themselves, were represented by Peel as Prime Minister. The old Whig leader, Lord Grey, left his country house to become premier, and to effect the reform of Parliament for which the English people were crying. With the aid of Lord John Russell, he carried on an uphill fight against Wellington and the Conservative Tories. Finally in 1832 Grey got a Reform bill through the House of Commons; when the Lords blocked it, Grey persuaded King William to threaten to create enough new peers to pass it. The Lords at last yielded; Wellington with a hundred other lords withdrew temporarily from Parliament while the bill passed. Parlia-

The accession of William IV, 1830.

mentary Reform was at last begun, though it remained for three subsequent acts to complete the work.

This Act, by destroying a large number of "pocket" and "rotten" boroughs, released one hundred and forty-three seats in Parliament to be reassigned to districts that needed representation. It also extended the franchise or voting right to all men of moderate means. The effect of the Revolution of 1688 had been to take the control of England out of the hands of the king and turn it over to an oligarchy of wealthy, landowning aristocrats. The Reform Bill of 1832 admitted the middle classes—farmers and shopkeepers—to a share in the government. But the lower classes, laborers and the like, who had played a great part in the agitation for Parliamentary Reform, gained no direct voice in affairs until half a century later.

The Parliamentary Reform Act, 1832.

In 1835 a further step in political reform was taken in the Municipal Corporations Act, which broke the stranglehold of corrupt groups on the local government of cities and boroughs. Two years later William IV died, having had the satisfaction of seeing great steps taken in his nation's progress during his short reign of seven years.

When William's young niece, Victoria, succeeded him, she became ruler of a nation very different from that which her grandfather, George III, had inherited seventy-seven years before. Commercially, industrially, intellectually, socially, England had been making long and rapid strides. Methods of transportation had been improved by the introduction of canals, and of hard-surfaced roads, the work of MacAdam, who died in 1836 and left his name to our macad-

England at the time of Victoria's accession, 1837.

amized thoroughfares. When Watt's steam engine was adapted to provide motive power for transportation, another great change was wrought. In 1813 a steamboat began operation on the Clyde River; in the following year a steam locomotive was tried out, and in the year of George IV's death a steam railroad connected the industrial city of Manchester with the port of Liverpool.

Improved transportation meant increased commerce, at home and abroad. Scientific agricultural methods, due primarily to Arthur Young, who died in 1820, increased the national production of grain, or "corn," as Englishmen call it. At the same time newly opened markets in the United States and South America stimulated trade and manufacture enormously.

The Industrial Revolution had involved an immense expansion in manufacturing; simultaneously, a large and unregulated class of factory laborers had grown up. Economic pressure had reduced these laborers almost to the condition of serfs. Their oppression had been fostered by the attitude of *laissez faire,* which the nation had consented to and which the government had adopted as a definite doctrine. The policy of the state was to permit individual manufacturers to run their own businesses without interference, and to let the workers fend for themselves. Finally conditions became so serious, however, that Parliament took a hand, and relaxed the *laissez faire* policy to the extent of passing the Factory Act of 1833, which limited child labor and provided for state inspection of factories.

Child laborers in factories were not the only slaves whom the English government freed. Slavery had ceased to exist in Great Britain in 1772; the great reformer Wilberforce

had managed to get the slave trade abolished in 1807, and his efforts were crowned with success just at the time of his death in 1833 when slavery was prohibited in all British colonies. The following year the lot of the indigent was remedied by a Poor Law.

British thought advanced to keep pace with changing conditions in other spheres. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century a group of young poets, filled with a passion for freedom and imaginative experience, poured new blood into the veins of English literature. Sir Walter Scott changed the taste of the reading public by popularizing novels. Great periodical reviews, like the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly,* served to stimulate criticism, despite their violent political prejudices. Malthus published his famous *Essay* urging that the growth of population be artificially checked, to put a stop to hard times; Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology,* hinted that Genesis was inadequate as a scientific document and prepared the way for Charles Darwin's theory of evolution; by questioning the usefulness of antiquated institutions Bentham helped to wipe them out and to introduce modern efficiency.

The people of England, who were reading such books and thinking such thoughts, must have been very like their descendants a century later—today. Even their clothes were beginning to resemble ours, as poverty and high taxes eliminated elaborate wigs and ruffles, as wool and cotton were popularized, and democratic sober-simplicity became fashionable. Eliminate the hoop-skirts and the top-hats, substitute automobiles and the radio, and the England that saw Victoria crowned might pass for the England of today.

CHAPTER XIV

MID-VICTORIAN ENGLAND

(1837-1880)

"Fifty years of ever-broadening Commerce!
Fifty years of ever-brightening Science!
Fifty years of ever-widening Empire!"

TENNYSON, *On the Jubilee of Queen Victoria.*

The coronation of Victoria marks the beginning of contemporary English history; many persons now living remember the last years of her lengthy reign. So many and so varied are the events that have taken place since 1837 that the early Twentieth Century, with its limited perspective, is in no position as yet to discern their true significance.

The character of Victoria (1837-1901).

As the niece of William IV, Victoria, a girl of eighteen, became in 1837 queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Her intelligence, which was at least average, her strong will, and her upright moral character made her well-fitted for the position she was to occupy. Under the painstaking guidance of Lord Melbourne, the Whig premier, the new queen from the beginning took an active interest in national affairs. She was outspoken in stating her own opinions to her ministers, but she understood the true basis of the English government well enough to let the cabinet have its own way when it insisted.

Victoria's comprehension of state problems was much enhanced by her marriage in 1840 to her German first cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Albert was given the title of Prince Consort, though even his devoted wife could not persuade the English to make him king. Celebrated as the pattern of nobility by Tennyson, who glorified him as King Arthur in *The Idylls of the King,* Albert was a serious-minded, hard-working gentleman, ambitious to have a guiding hand in the conduct of affairs. His will was as firm as that of the queen herself; the story is told that he once locked his door to Victoria when she demanded admittance as queen of England. The poor woman was left to knock in vain, until finally, when he asked, "Who is there?" she meekly responded, "Your wife, Albert." Then the door was opened.

Albert as Prince Consort, 1840-1861.

Victoria grew to depend more and more on his information and judgment, and through her he exerted a powerful influence on the nation, though his chilly manner and his foreign blood always interfered with his personal popularity. His death of typhoid fever in 1861 was a ghastly blow to the queen; in her mourning she withdrew into social isolation for many years, to emerge at last as empress of India and the idol of her nation.

A few years before Victoria's accession, the long ascendancy of the Tory party had at last been broken by the rise of the reforming Whigs; and thereafter these two parties alternated in power. After the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 the Tories had modernized themselves into Conservatives; and a generation later

Party government.

the great Gladstone metamorphosed the old Whigs into Liberals. But the conflict between these two parties never degenerated into a mere artificial distinction, or into a sordid struggle for office. Vital differences of interests between the classes they represented, fundamental disagreements on questions like Irish Home Rule, personal rivalry between the party leaders, Disraeli and Gladstone, kept the parties alive and stimulated competition between them; while the development of elaborate party organizations and the spread of political propaganda drew the whole nation into the system of party government. The exploits of brilliant Parliamentary leaders like Palmerston, Disraeli, and Gladstone likewise served to stimulate popular interest in politics.

Victoria's great political leaders.

Palmerston was an old-fashioned Whig, conservative in his defense of the privileges of the English aristocracy, and liberal in his contempt for reactionary European monarchs. He got his training as minister in charge of foreign affairs, and early won the hatred of the queen and her husband. The royal pair, priggish and intolerant, could not endure his flippant broad-mindedness; his foreign policy, too, was obnoxious to them, for they loyally supported the established Continental dynasties, to many of which they were related, and Palmerston was always asserting British interests in favor of the unruly subjects of these dynasties. He was somewhat blatant in his insistence upon the rights of the meanest British citizen in the farthest corner of the earth, and the jaunty arrogance with which he interfered in European politics was fraught with danger. But his rough-and-ready

good nature and his understanding of the average Englishman's point of view made him vastly popular, and he twice achieved the office of Prime Minister.

Benjamin Disraeli was a far more sparkling figure. Hebrew by blood and Christian by profession, he was endowed with a vivid imagination to which the glamor of England's old landed aristocracy appealed enormously. His sharp and ready tongue, his glistening wit, gave him dangerous power as a Parliamentary debater, and his keen political sense enabled him to combine the top and bottom layers of society, the nobles and the workers, in a vigorous Conservative party capable of meeting the middle-class Whigs and Liberals on even terms. Disraeli shone not only as a politician but also as a novelist; he really created the political novel as a type, and the novels which he himself wrote he used as vehicles for preaching the Tory standards which he upheld in politics.

Disraeli first came into prominence as Leader of the House of Commons in 1852; fifteen years later he won a great victory by putting through the second Parliamentary Reform Act, and thereafter until his fall in 1880 his career was a succession of triumphs. His active imagination enabled him to conceive of Great Britain as a world-wide empire; the insular point of view of the English middle classes left him cold, and he made little effort to win their confidence or follow their wishes in carrying out his imperialistic policies. The queen, however, was enchanted by his gracious flattery, and by his sincere enthusiasm for the Crown. When he persuaded Parliament to give her the title of Empress of India, she rewarded him by creating him Earl of Beaconsfield.

Disraeli's imperialism was one of the factors in the rivalry between him and Gladstone. For fifteen years these two men, as leaders in the Conservative and Whig-Liberal parties, opposed one another. Gladstone was a "Little Englander," more interested in diagnosing the internal needs of the English people, and in sympathizing with their interests, than in building up future greatness overseas. His handling of financial problems was capable; he was a sounder statesman, perhaps, though less clever as a politician, than his rival. The reforms which he instituted during his first ministry were so sweeping as to render him temporarily unpopular; but the final fall of Disraeli in 1880 ended the rivalry between these two and brought to a close the great central era of Victoria's reign. Gladstone returned to power, and thrice again held the office of Prime Minister.

England's growth toward empire.

While these commanding figures were occupying the political limelight, England was rapidly extending and strengthening its colonial power, and preparing to assume the status of an empire. After the American Revolution the British had come for a time to believe that colonies were not necessary, and that they would all leave the mother country as soon as they became able to take care of themselves. In 1837, however, a Canadian crisis and the report and recommendations made on that situation by Lord Durham, set up the model and paved the way for the present imperial organization which bears the name, "The British Commonwealth of Nations." The extension of postal service, of steam navigation, and of the recently invented electric telegraph all helped to bring the distant dominions into

closer contact with the central government; the Atlantic was first crossed by a steamship entirely under its own power in 1838; two decades later the laying of the Atlantic cable brought America into telegraphic communication with England; and in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and cut some six thousand miles off the route from London to India.

In 1875, when the Egyptian government was bankrupt, Disraeli on his own responsibility purchased a large block of Suez Canal stock, and gave his government control over this new short route to India. In the meantime Canada, after a minor revolt in 1837, had been consolidated by Lord Durham's Canada Act; and finally in 1867 the whole Dominion was reorganized as a federation of provinces, much as it exists today. In South Africa, British influence was spreading, and at the same time a new problem was developing, destined to cause trouble later on. The Boers, the hardy Dutch settlers, had been angered by the encroachment of English colonists upon Boer territory, and by the loss of their slaves, when slavery was abolished in the colonies in 1833. Almost half a century later the suppression of the warlike native Zulus, negro savages, relieved the Boers of that danger, and left them free to vent their resentment against British domination; two Boer wars were to be fought before the end of the century. In Ireland, too, trouble was once more brewing; and Gladstone's Irish Land Act of 1870 represented the beginning of a new series of attempts to solve that perennial problem.

India proved to be the most troublesome colony during the middle period of Victoria's reign. The English were gradually whipping the whole peninsula into such

shape that it could become an integral part of the British Empire; attempts were made to suppress a society of murderous assassins known as Thugs, and to put an end to the practice of suttee, by which Hindu widows were burned to death on their husbands' funeral pyres. A policy grew up of training native officials by giving them an English education; unfortunately the students often imbibed along with the English language a knowledge of liberal Occidental thought which made them look askance at the white man's dominion over them.

Serious trouble broke out in 1857 when a rumor circulated among the native soldiers that their new-style cartridges, which had to be bitten before they could be used, were greased with the fat of pigs and cows. To the Mohammedans the pig was an unclean beast; to the Hindus the cow was a sacred animal; both classes were offended, and the Mutiny of the native troops broke out. It soon developed into a widespread native revolt; Cawnpore was captured and a horrible massacre took place; Lucknow defended itself heroically for almost three months, and was finally saved by a relief expedition, celebrated in a stirring poem by Tennyson. It took England a year to stamp out the revolt, and when the disturbance finally came to an end, the British government assumed complete control of its Indian colonies by taking over the remaining powers of the East India Company. Eighteen years later Disraeli attached India to the Crown even more firmly by creating Victoria empress of India; the British Empire had officially come into existence.

During these years England held itself aloof from actual participation in foreign wars, with the single exception of

the Crimean War. England's peaceful relations with

England's foreign relations.

United States were interrupted by dangerous disagreements, but in nei case did armed conflict result. A dispute over the bound between Canada and the United States in the northv caused some hard feeling; as early as 1817 Castlereagh persuaded the two countries to dispense with armaments the Great Lakes, but a quarter century later the Americ tried to push their northwestern boundary northward latitude 54° 40′, a line which would cut off Canada fr the Pacific Coast. An American presidential candid Polk, made a campaign issue out of this claim, and insu the British with a cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight!" bu few years later the border was amicably fixed at 49°.

There was another outbreak of hard feeling at the t of the American Civil War. British misunderstanding the principles of the Union, British aristocratic sympa for the blue-blooded South, British dependence on South cotton—all helped to account for England's lack of s pathy with the cause of Abraham Lincoln. Not until a the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, England begin to realize that the North was fighting abolish an institution that Britain had discarded in 1 Relations were seriously strained by the *Trent* and *Alab* affairs. England was justly indignant when the Yank emulating British tactics toward neutrals in 1812, snato two Southerners off the British ship *Trent;* but Pr Albert, aided by the speeches of Edward Everett, Linc representative in England, managed to secure a peac settlement of that dispute. After the end of the war United States demanded redress for the depredations of

Alabama, a commerce raider built in England for the Confederates; in 1872 Gladstone settled the matter through arbitrators at Geneva, thereby achieving one of the first triumphs of the modern principle of international arbitration.

In 1861 Great Britain aided the Italian states to gain independence and unification, and as a result established friendly relations with Italy which, after being forgotten for many years, proved to be valuable in 1914, when the World War broke out. At the Congress of Berlin, seventeen years later, Disraeli, wishing to block Russia from threatening England's communications with India, supported Turkey. This action served to strengthen the bond between England and the Central European Powers which Victoria's family connections in Germany had already established. Not until commercial and naval rivalry sprang up did this bond finally break.

The Crimean War, 1854-1856.

An earlier conflict between Russia and Turkey in the regions around Constantinople and the Black Sea had involved England in actual war. Fearful of Russia's advance southward, England declared war on the Czar in 1854, and laid siege to his city of Sebastopol in the Crimea, a peninsula on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The English army was old-fashioned and in no shape to fight; inefficient soldiers, if they were rich enough, could still purchase commissions setting them above seasoned veterans, a practice not abolished until fifteen years later. The Crimean War had no startling effect on international politics, and France and Austria persuaded England to withdraw in 1856. But there were several important results of the conflict: a battle at Balaclava gave Tennyson the subject of his *Charge of the*

Light Brigade; the modern type of war correspondent came into existence and informed the public at home of the shocking conditions at the front. Florence Nightingale revolutionized the profession of nursing by her intelligent and devoted care of the ill and wounded soldiers; by showing what women could do, she contributed richly to the movement for the emancipation of the sex, which had already been reflected in Tennyson's *Princess,* which was further stimulated by John Stuart Mill's essay on *The Subjection of Women,* and which finally led in our own day to the agitation for woman's suffrage. At the peace conference after the war, rules governing the waging of modern war were, practically for the first time, laid down and agreed to by the nations of the world.

The progress of reform during the mid-Victorian era.

The rapid advance of the reform spirit during the first third of the Nineteenth Century had reached its climax during the reign of William IV; in the era of peace and prosperity that occupied the first half of Victoria's sixty-four year reign there were few fundamental changes in the laws of England, and few attempts to bring about radical reforms. Any development toward true democracy and toward the curtailment of aristocratic privileges was so gradual that the upper classes were not shocked into withdrawal from political life, but instead retained a keen interest in the affairs of state.

The most violent agitation for reform centered in the Chartist movement, an attempt to improve the condition of the working classes by political changes. In 1838 a Charter was published containing the six remedies which the agitators demanded, but the Chartists accomplished

nothing, and the movement gradually died out. However, nearly all the principles they advocated have been realized since their time.

An important reform was actually effected in 1846 when the Corn Laws were repealed, and the free importation of grain was permitted, while at the same time import duties in general were lowered and distinct progress was made toward the Free Trade ideal. Peel, who was Prime Minister at the time, realized that the importation of grain into the United Kingdom must be allowed if the Irish were to be saved from starvation, for a potato blight had destroyed the one crop on which Ireland relied. As Wellington remarked, "Rotten potatoes have done it; they put Peel in his damned fright!"

A generation after the Reform Bill of 1832 a second great step was taken in Parliamentary Reform. In 1866, with the Whig-Liberal party in power, some of the ablest leaders, including Russell and Gladstone, drew up a bill to extend the franchise beyond the middle classes by giving the vote to artisans and laborers living in towns. A group of disgruntled Whigs opposed this bill and joined the Conservative opposition in defeating it. But the tactless contempt which these same Whigs expressed for the wage-earners goaded the laborers to fury, and monster demonstrations demanded more Parliamentary reform. The Whig-Liberal cabinet had resigned because of the defeat of their bill; the Conservatives had come into office, and Disraeli, one of the leading Conservative ministers, shrewdly decided to take advantage of the situation for the benefit of his own party. Having defeated Gladstone's bill, he drew up one of his own which

The Reform Bill of 1867.

went even farther, giving the vote to all householders liv ing in boroughs. In 1867 Parliament passed this bill extend ing the franchise so that country laborers alone were ex cluded.

A year later Gladstone got back into power, as premie this time, and carried on the process of reform legislation which was facilitated by the death of the reactionary Pal merston, the victory of the democratic North in the Ameri can Civil War, and the modern ideas of John Stuart Mill who had himself been stimulated by an earlier forward looking philosopher, Bentham. Among Gladstone's re form measures were the reorganization of the army, and the institution of competitive examinations in the Civi Service.

The Oxford Movement.

While this gradual progress toward democracy and efficiency was taking place in the English government stimulating movements and changes were revi talizing the Established Anglican Church. The most important of these was the Oxford Movement, an attempt to emphasize the antiquity and independence of the Church of England. As this movement involved the revival of ancient ceremonies, it restored an elaborate pageantry and ritualism which gave the English Church a superficial resemblance to the Roman Catholic; the roman tic awakening of interest in the Middle Ages and the medi eval Church helped to make some aspects of Roman Catholicism seem desirable. The Oxford Movement began with a sermon preached by John Keble in 1833. A series of pamphlets known as *Tracts for the Times* carried on the propaganda; the strongest man in the Oxford Move ment, a clergyman named Newman, attempted to prov

hat the Thirty-nine Articles on which the Anglican Church was based were not inconsistent with ancient Catholic doctrine. In the uproar that followed, Newman esigned; and later he became a member of the Roman Catholic Church (1845) and eventually a Cardinal, as did Manning, another important figure in the Oxford Movement. In his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* Newman defends his hange of religion, but his conversion, followed by that f other influential men, had already put an end to the Oxford Movement in the Anglican Church. The spirit of hat movement survives in the High Church or Anglo-Catholic tendency in the contemporary Anglican and Episcopal Churches.

Some years later a distinctly liberal step was taken hen the Anglican Church, which had been imposed on nwilling Ireland, was disestablished as the official Church n that island.

The results of the growth of industrialism.

English industry during the mid-Victorian era continued s advance along paths marked out by the Industrial Revolution. As a trading and manufacturing center England became so owerful that it no longer needed the protection of high ariffs and Navigation Acts. The gradual adoption of a ree Trade policy released the colonies from economic ubjection to the mother country and left them free to evelop independently into members of a Commonwealth f Nations such as they constitute today. Yet their economic relations with the United Kingdom, and their oyalty to the Crown, remained so strong that they withood the strain imposed by the outbreak of the World War 1914; England will always remember how enthusiasti-

cally the colonies and dominions rallied to its support in that crisis.

Another result of the Industrial Revolution was the progress made by the newly created factory laborers in learning how to take care of themselves. Parliament had given them some external aid in the Factory Act of 1833 but their own development of coöperative shops and of labor unions—Trade Unions, they were called—strengthened their position. The coöperative shops were developed among the wage-earners as the result of attempts made by Robert Owen, a socialistic manufacturer, to establish benevolent coöperation between employers and laborers. Trade Unions began to appear as early as 1829, and Parliament eventually granted them legal recognition.

The reign of prosperity and the glorification of industrial efficiency had their regrettable consequences. The growth of a class of degraded factory workers created a running sore on the body of English society, which Dickens saw clearly and which he sought to cure by calling attention to it in his novels.

A bourgeois commercial class likewise developed, which was primarily materialistic in its standards, exploiting employees for its own benefit. The author and historian Lord Macaulay was active in Parliament in defense of the *laissez faire* policy which left employers free to oppress the wage-earners as they saw fit. Carlyle, on the other hand, denounced the standards of materialism and democracy, and Thackeray satirized the loveless, purse-proud captains of industry and commerce.

But of all the sins of industrialism the greatest was ugliness. As hurried mass-production replaced the proud

painstaking labor of individual handicraftsmen, as ugly factory slums and mine villages defaced the gentle beauty of English town and country-side, England suffered a loss of simplicity and charm from which it has never recovered. Various able defenders appeared, however, to uphold the cause of loveliness; Matthew Arnold criticized the Philistines, the outsiders who were unaware of beauty; Ruskin preached the cult of beauty and bewailed the modern industrialism which defiled woodland pools with the filth and scum of the smoke-belching factories. A group of painters and writers, the Pre-Raphaelites, led by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and stimulated by the Oxford Movement and romantic medievalism, went back to the early days of painting to discover styles of simple loveliness, and tried to persuade men to insist on beauty in the commonest objects of everyday use; Morris and Swinburne carried on the same tradition.

Despite the changes in the outward appearance of rural England caused by the rapid spread of industrialism, agriculture still survived. In fact for a time it was stimulated by the improved methods of transportation. The conservative rural population, pictured, for example, in George Eliot's *Middlemarch,* resented the introduction of railroads; they hated to see their ancestral fields cut up by lines of steel rails. But the railroads, once they were established, provided quick transportation of perishable products to the greedy urban markets, and gave the farmer a new outlet for his crops. Later on, however, fast steamships with refrigeration facilities were able to bring perishable foodstuffs from overseas, and domestic agriculture suffered from this dangerous competition.

English society underwent no fundamental changes during the reign of Victoria. Among the lower classes there was for a time much suffering as a result of the New Poor Law, which had been passed just before Victoria's accession. This law put an end to the practice of giving doles to underpaid workers, and drove them into the poorhouse for relief. Instead of taking steps to make work more attractive than pauperism, the authorities tried to keep the poorhouses from getting overcrowded by making them as uncomfortable as possible. The deplorable workhouse conditions that resulted are depicted by Dickens in *Oliver Twist.*

Mid-Victorian society.

Among the upper classes, however, life was very pleasant. A wave of prosperity swept over the country in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, reminiscent of the prosperous days of Whig supremacy when George II was king. After the first great triumphs of reform, the collapse of Chartism, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, political and social agitation slumbered for twenty years, and there flourished the delightful farm and country-house life which Trollope used as a background for many of his novels.

During this period the English intellect was not asleep. Darwin, in his *Origin of Species,* 1859, suggested the theory of evolution, and began a conflict which still rages today between the modernists and the fundamentalists. Huxley, in his *Essays* and *Lay Sermons,* brought many of the new ideas to the attention of the popular reader; and the philosopher Herbert Spencer attempted to apply the principles of evolution to intellectual and moral problems. The invention of photography, the realization of the part played by germs in disease, and the

Intellectual progress.

advances made by surgery in the use of anesthetics and of antiseptic dressings, are among the many priceless contributions of mid-Victorian science.

It was in this age, too, that nation-wide (but non-compulsory) primary education was at last provided for the English. Previously there had been no public school system; primary instruction had been limited to church schools and private schools, which were far too few to serve their purpose. The former were attached to the Church of England and subject to government supervision; as an inspector of schools Matthew Arnold labored nobly, and in some mysterious way found time to write his poetry and preach sweetness and light to the Philistines. The private schools were of all sorts, from the little local "dame schools," like the one taught by the heroine of *Jane Eyre,* to the so-called "public schools" like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, which were ancient, aristocratic institutions, not free at all, and practically closed to the lower classes.

This situation was changed by the Education Bill of 1870, which retained the existing institutions, and set up new government schools where they were needed. At the same time the opportunities for higher education were increased when the religious restrictions on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were removed. New universities had previously been founded at London and Durham, which helped to satisfy the needs of eager students.

When in 1880 Disraeli went out of office for the last time, his retirement marked the close of the mid-Victorian epoch. Gladstone, his successor, was disburdened of his most troublesome adversary, and was left freer to carry on his own policies; Queen Victoria, after a long period of

retirement in mourning, was devoting herself once more to the nation which came to adore her as the symbol of its greatness. Her children and grandchildren, maturing during the golden evening of her reign, were learning from her to preserve the bond of emotional loyalty which she had built up between the English people and the Crown. And England had at last realized its imperial destiny, had assumed the name of Empire, and was preparing to make that Empire, under Victoria and her successors, the greatest that the world has ever seen.

CHAPTER XV

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(Since 1880)

"God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line—
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet!"

KIPLING, *Recessional.*

The Empire.

England is no longer, as it was in the days of Queen Elizabeth, a tiny state isolated in the southern half of an ocean isle. Nor is it a mere United Kingdom of Anglo-Normans and Celts, such as was created by the Union of 1801. It is rather the emotional and political center of a world-wide British Empire, girdling the globe from Arctic to Antarctic seas. To its farthest provinces British merchant ships and dreadnaughts are daily speeding, emissaries of British wealth and power. And in his London palace lives the quiet gentleman who wears the British crown, who represents the one tie that binds together all this vast and heterogeneous empire of states and peoples.

For centuries this empire has been growing; one by one have distant savage lands and aging foreign civilizations yielded to English influence, until now an English king sits on the imperial throne of the fabulous Indies, and upon his far-flung banners the sun, in literal truth, is forever shining. Only during the last hundred years, however, has

the British Empire as a whole become conscious of its own existence. As British manufacture increased to a point where new markets must be found or created, as the crowded inhabitants of the British Isles realized that the only fields remaining for their initiative and progress were overseas, as Britain awoke to the fact that other nations were beginning a drive for colonies, the English people began to organize their many dependencies into an empire that would serve as an outlet for their activity. Rudyard Kipling, with his songs and stories of British prowess in distant lands, helped to build up the spirit of imperialism. With his glorification of English supremacy, and his unbearable insistence upon the white man's burden of responsibility for his little brown brothers, the "lesser breeds without the Law," he has represented that spirit as it developed. Kipling's attitude reflects perfectly the blind assumption of superiority, the fundamental lack of understanding for the "lesser breeds'" point of view, which enabled England to domineer over subject races so successfully—up to a certain point, but which renders any permanent communion quite unthinkable.

The British Empire has survived the crises of the last fifteen years largely by virtue of the influence of the Crown. Technically, the Crown is the one institution in which all parts of the Empire share; this fact has been increasingly apparent ever since the representatives of the Empire met together in the first Imperial Conference at the time of Victoria's Golden Jubilee, celebrating the first half century of her reign.

The Crown.

When the "Widow at Windsor" forgot her broken heart and became an empress, she assumed a position which no

other English sovereign has ever achieved. Her housewifely virtues, her domestic sympathies, made her the idol, not of

". . . the princes and prelates with periwigged charioteers
Riding triumphantly laurelled to lap the fat of the years"—

but of the common people. Even today, a generation after her death, in many a settler's cabin remote in the Canadian bush one may find the picture of the pudgy great-grandmother, gazing out over her people with solemn stare, with imperial coronet jauntily perched above the calm, determined brow. The loyalty which she evoked from her humblest subjects has served more than any other factor, perhaps, to keep the English Crown intact in these days of tottering thrones and resurgent democracies.

Fortunately for themselves, Victoria's successors were born and brought up under her influence, and early learned to carry on the policies and traditions which she established. Her son, Edward VII, who reigned for nine years after her death in 1901, and Edward's son George V, the present King and Emperor, have freely and often effectively expressed their own opinions to their ministers, and have refrained from trying to enforce those opinions against the will of the people by exerting a power which they do not possess. They have followed out her system of keeping the Crown financially independent so that it cannot become a burden to the English taxpayers. By means of wealthy marriages and legitimate business enterprises the English royal family has built up a substantial fortune; when motion pictures of George V's imperial coronation in India were exhibited throughout the world, it was said that the

king himself made a handsome profit from the enterprise. These latest kings have even improved upon Victoria's policies by adopting a rigidly non-partisan attitude toward English politics, so that the Crown is not affected by party vicissitudes. And when we see the Prince of Wales and Victoria's other great-grandchildren laying cornerstones or traveling in the remotest provinces of the Empire, we realize that they too are striving to keep alive the loyalty of every British subject.

The Constitution under which all Englishmen are governed has during recent years undergone no fundamental changes, but there has been continued development in the direction indicated by the early Parliamentary Reform Bills. In 1884-1885 a third Reform Bill increased the political power of the laboring classes by extending the franchise to householders dwelling in the country.

The Constitution.

A belated effort made by the House of Lords to assert its independent power necessitated the passing of legislation to hold the Peers down within the limits which custom had already imposed on them. In 1893 the Lords interfered with the government by blocking a bill which would have given Home Rule to Ireland; in 1909-1910 they rejected Lloyd George's budget, which had been increased by appropriations made necessary by new legislation. These measures provided for workingmen's old age, and disability insurance, in which the government was to pay at least one-third of the cost. The government found the Peers' interference with its financial plans very annoying. To show them their place, a bill was proposed denying the House of Lords any control over financial legislation, and granting them

only a suspensory veto in other matters; that is, they could delay but not permanently prevent the passage of an act. King George V, in 1911, by threatening (just as William IV had done when the first Reform Bill came up in 1832) to create enough new peers to pass this Parliament Bill, coerced the Lords into accepting this formal limitation of their power. As a result, the House of Lords has become a debating society, but one whose discussions and conclusions are heeded by both government and public.

Another interesting constitutional development of late has been the admission of women to a share in government. Agitation for woman's rights increased during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, and finally came to a head in the Militant Suffragette movement. Hordes of embattled women indulged in the most extreme tactics in their demand for the vote; one of their tricks, for instance, was to attend a theatrical performance (preferably when the king was present) and, chaining themselves to their seats, shout "Votes for women!" It was sometimes necessary to remove seats, chains, and all in order to quiet the disturbance. When the World War broke out, most of this agitation ceased; and in 1918, before the Armistice was signed, a fourth Reform Bill was passed, extending the franchise to practically every man in the nation, and granting it to a limited class of women.

Social conditions.

The most significant social phenomenon in contemporary British history is the rise of the laboring classes. Even the ill-paid, unskilled laborers have been able to organize themselves into unions; and they early began to win public recognition through such demonstrations as the great Dock Strike of 1889. In our own

day the labor party has become a power in English politics, and has seen its leader installed as Prime Minister in the official Downing Street residence.

The continued existence of social unrest still indicates that the conflict among different classes of Englishmen is far from settled. The novels and plays of such writers as H. G. Wells, D. H. Lawrence, and John Galsworthy make frequent attempts to cope with the questions of modern social and industrial life, and give convincing proof of the urgency of these problems. It seems almost as if the recent changes in scientific knowledge and material circumstances have been so rapid as to outstrip man's moral advance. The danger of a machine age in which man would be the victim of his own inventions was symbolized a hundred years ago in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein,* and was suggested even more pointedly late in the Nineteenth Century, in "The Book of the Machines" in Samuel Butler's *Erewhon.* But men have not yet perfected any sure method for avoiding that danger.

Interesting efforts have been made to put a stop to class warfare by readjusting the distribution of property. The Fabian Society has advocated a kind of socialism in the attempt to relieve social unrest; among its members it has included men such as Bernard Shaw, Ramsay MacDonald, and H. G. Wells. The growth of municipal socialism indicates another, more practical method of accomplishing the same results; local municipalities are learning to alleviate the condition of the lower classes at the expense of all the taxpayers by providing public bath-houses, art galleries, and amusement parks.

A survey of England's foreign relations during the last

half century reveals the gradual break-down of the policy of "splendid isolation"; England's return to active participation in Continental affairs reached a climax when the World War broke out in 1914. After the Crimean War in the mid-Nineteenth Century, English statesmen decided to cultivate their own gardens—to devote their energy to settling domestic problems and developing the Empire, while they let European international politics severely alone. After Disraeli's triumph at Berlin in 1878, and the beginning of the partition of Africa, all Europe was forming two opposing camps, the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy against the Dual Alliance of France and Russia. With the Dual Alliance England had little sympathy. Queen Victoria's family connections made her friendly toward Germany; France, on the other hand, was a troublesome rival in the colonies, and Russia's expansion southward toward Asia frightened the British imperialists; in *The Truce of the Bear* Kipling sounded a warning against the Russian "bear that looks like a man."

Foreign relations.

But England could not remain forever at peace with Germany; the English democratic spirit was essentially antagonistic to the German autocrat Bismarck, who was developing a German Empire that might some day match the British. Germany's commercial progress, too, was dangerous to English supremacy. And any chance for conciliation vanished when the ultra-imperialistic William II took the reins from Bismarck in 1890.

In 1902 the British formed an alliance with Japan that was broken in about 1921 at the urgent request or threat of Australia. This alliance signalized the direct entry of

Asia into European politics; no longer could Great Britain, with its vast Asian empire, remain aloof. Two years later England entered into an Entente or understanding with France; these two nations combined to withstand the growing power of Germany and of the navy which the German Kaiser had begun in 1898 to build up as a rival to the British fleet.

The decade of competitive armament which followed, interspersed with the tiffs between the European nations—Fashoda, Algeciras, Balkan wars—found England, France, and Russia regularly opposing the Central Powers. That situation inevitably ended in the outbreak of the World War; John Masefield's *August 1914* commemorates forever the month in which England entered the conflict, to bear with France the brunt of the battle. Germany was the chief opposing power, though many other nations were involved, as enemies or as allies. Today it is apparent that the eventual outcome of that war, the eventual defeat of Germany, was inevitable. But that defeat was not finally accomplished until four years had passed, and the United States had lent its aid to France and England.

As in previous Continental struggles, England was practically forced to participate for self-protection; to permit a powerful enemy to occupy the ports of Belgium, just across the Channel, would have been suicidal. But there was one great difference between the earlier wars, against Philip II of Spain, Louis XIV of France, and Napoleon, and the World War. Germany was infinitely more dangerous than the other enemies had been, because of her superior strategic position, in the center of Europe, and because of the development of long-range guns and aircraft,

which laid the island of Great Britain itself open to attack. For the first time England was forced to contribute not only money and ships but men too—every man who was able to fight. For the first time all English men and women, soldiers and civilians alike, were concentrated in the one aim of winning a war. For over four years that intense concentration continued; then in 1918 the Armistice was signed, and the World War, the war to end war, came to an end. The smoke of battle cleared away and revealed a new map, a new world—a world which we inhabit today, and which cannot possibly be understood till many a long year has passed.

In this new world the British Empire still survives, expanded by new territory gained from Germany and held as mandates under the League of Nations. Changes, though, took place during the war; they are still taking place every day. If Germany was saddened because the Empire held together and rallied nobly to England's support, England too was saddened by the outbreak of hostile feeling in more than one subject state.

Ireland.

In no dominion of the British Empire or Commonwealth of Nations, have there been more impressive changes than in Ireland. Fifty years ago Ireland seemed to be an integral part of the United Kingdom. But Irishmen were far from satisfied with the Union which since 1801 had bound them to the neighboring isle. During the latter part of the Nineteenth Century Irish agitation centered in the Home Rule movement, which did not aim at complete severance of the ties that bound the United Kingdom together, but merely hoped to win for Ireland an independent Parliament of its own. The chief

advocate of Home Rule was an Irish member of the House of Commons, Charles Stewart Parnell, who happened strangely enough, to be of Protestant faith and of English blood. But he had inherited a fiery hatred of England from his American mother, and he applied his famous obstruction policy to the English Parliament. Parnell interfered in every imaginable way with the machinery of the House of Commons, hoping that England would finally grant Ireland a Parliament of its own in order to get rid of him.

Gladstone, who was at this time leader of the Liberal party, needed the support of Parnell and the Irish members in order to control the Commons. But when Gladstone took up Home Rule in order to win the Irish over to his side, the Liberals were so shocked that a considerable number of them joined the Conservatives and insisted upon the preservation of the union between Great Britain and Ireland. Hence they were called Unionists. When a general election was held, Unionist sentiment among the voters was strong enough to defeat Gladstone and his Home Rule policy. After 1895 and until the World War the Conservatives were known as the Unionist Party.

The question remained active. After the death of Parnell and the retirement of Gladstone, the Conservatives tried to pacify Ireland by lending to Irish tenants money with which they could buy out English landlords. But most of them still wanted political independence. The situation was further complicated by the presence of a strong Protestant minority in Ulster, in the north of Ireland. Ulster is an industrial district, unlike the rest of Ireland, which is agricultural. The Protestant Ulsterites did not

vant Home Rule for all of Ireland; they feared that without English support they themselves would be swamped by he Roman Catholic agricultural majority, the Nationalist roup, who occupied most of the island.

Finally in 1914 an Irish Home Rule Bill was passed by Parliament, to become effective after the war. The Nationlists were not satisfied, however; they broke out in armed ebellion against English sovereignty, and there was contant friction between them and the Ulsterites. The desire or complete independence had by this time become rampant; the Sinn Fein society—"ourselves alone"—strove to gnore the British completely and to set up independent overnmental machinery in Ireland. In the meantime a Gaelic League had been fostering the national Celtic spirit, nd encouraging an Irish literary revival, in which such vriters as Yeats have played a great part. An attempt was lso made to stimulate Irish agriculture; in this movement he poet George Russell ("A.E.") coöperated.

After a long series of painful complications, a temporary olution of the problem was effected in 1921 by the creation f the Irish Free State; Nationalist Ireland was given pracically the same independent status as the self-governing ominions like Canada, but Ulster was not included. It emains to be seen how satisfactory and how permanent this olution will be.

Among the self-governing dominions in the British mpire are included Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa; these dominions with England itself, and the various types of colonies and territories subct to the English Crown, make up the British Commonealth of Nations, a loose federation which has in recent

outh frica.

years replaced the more closely organized British Empire of the late Nineteenth Century. In South Africa, more than in any other of the self-governing dominions, there have been significant developments, developments which were influential in changing the Empire into a Commonwealth.

The presence of a large number of sturdy, self-sufficient Dutch settlers in South Africa has always complicated the situation there. As early as 1881 the English came into armed conflict with these Boers, at Majuba, when England made an unsuccessful attempt to assume control over the independent Transvaal, occupied by the Boers. The discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa added to the unrest there, as did the imperialistic schemes of Cecil Rhodes, a brilliant English colonizer.

Rhodes planned a railroad along the length of the African continent from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, linking British South Africa to British Egypt; he gave his own name to the South African territory of Rhodesia; and he established in his will the Rhodes Scholarships for American students at Oxford. In 1895, attempting to overthrow the independent Boers in the Transvaal, he instigated Jameson's raid against them. Four years later a second Boer War broke out between England and the Dutch settlers. This war, in which two English commanders, Lord Roberts and Kitchener, won great fame, ended in 1902 and resulted in the annexation of the two independent Boer states, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which became a part of the British dominion of South Africa. This war also marks the close of the aggressive type of British imperialism, which had served its purpose of amal

gamating the Empire, and which was becoming dangerous as it came into conflict with powerful, self-sufficient colonies. The heroic resistance of the Boers aroused the grudging admiration of their conquerors, and the better feelings of Englishmen were shocked by the high-handed conduct of England's representatives in South Africa. British South Africa has become a self-governing dominion in the British Commonweath of Nations, and the independent spirit of the Boers survives in South Africa's insistence that it has a right to secede from the Commonwealth whenever it pleases.

India, an Empire ruled by England's King-Emperor, has claimed that it too deserves the independent status of a self-governing dominion. Native Indians have not learned in vain the lessons of national freedom which their English education has taught them; and when Japan defeated Russia in 1904, all Asia realized that European domination could be broken. The Durbar of 1911, the coronation of George V as Emperor of India in the capital city of Delhi, helped to unify India as an Empire; nevertheless during the World War anti-British rebellion broke out. In 1930 the native Indians under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi agitated for their independence; just as in Ireland, the struggle for freedom was complicated by the internal dissensions among various religious and racial groups.

India.

Egypt is another rebellious dependency of the English Crown; nominally independent, it is really a protectorate. England was forced to step in and occupy the country in order to protect its own control over the Suez Canal, when the Turkish and native governments broke down in 1882. Three years later the British decided to with-

Egypt.

draw their forces from the Sudan, a district south of Egypt. Gladstone, thinking he would have a try at Disraeli's game of imperialism, sent a British soldier, Gordon, to take charge of the withdrawal. But Gordon allowed himself to be entrapped in Khartoum, where he was conquered and killed by the warlike Sudanese, whom Kipling has celebrated in "Fuzzy Wuzzy." Gordon's death was avenged in 1898 by "Kitchener of Khartoum." Since that day, the British have remained in control of Egypt, though here too anti-British risings occurred during the World War.

The lesser members of the Empire.

In addition to self-governing dominion, empire, and protectorate, there are many other types of colonies and dominions subject to the British Crown. Newfoundland is a self-governing colony; other colonies like the Bahamas and British Guiana have a limited power of self-government. Crown colonies like Ceylon are directly controlled by the home government in England; there are British spheres of influence in Persia and Siam; and since the World War a new class of dependency has grown up in the mandates, such as Palestine.

Over all the vast Empire or Commonwealth, composed of these many and varied territories, the British Union Jack flies today. From crown colonies to self-governing dominions, from tiny islands lost in the trackless reaches of the mid-Pacific to enormous continents like Australia, English influence is recognized; even in self-assertive dependencies like India, where England's political supremacy may soon collapse, the heritage of English traditions and English ideals must surely endure for many generations to come.

And beyond the incalculable boundaries of the British Empire, in the grim fastnesses of the Andes, in Icelandic fishing villages perched at the edge of the Arctic Ocean, the same traditions and ideals enrich the consciousness of humankind. Not only in the ports where British merchant ships have dropped their anchors, but in the heart of every man who has heard the name of Shakespeare, England lives. A Japanese student writes a book on Chaucer; a Berlin audience applauds *Hamlet;* famous musicians of France and Italy compose their operas upon the plays of the greatest English dramatist. Truly there is not one of "the round earth's imagined corners" but has felt the winds of inspiration blow from the tiny island-state.

Two thousand years have passed since Julius Cæsar led his Roman legions into that island, and almost a thousand since William the Conqueror established the throne on which George V reigns today. Race after race has swept up the rivers, over the rolling downs, and into the old oak forests of England; dynasty after dynasty has borne on its brows the English crown; hero after hero has fought, on battlefield or Parliamentary floor, to assert the rights of Englishmen; wave after wave of popular sentiment has ebbed and flowed, washing out new channels, casting up new bars to direct the currents of English life.

And to all of these, English culture, as it has existed for the past twenty centuries, is profoundly indebted. From these, English literature has drawn much of its richest sustenance; England's writers have relied again and again upon their national history, as well for the unconscious development of their own genius as for the subject matter of their art.

It is a glorious background, a glorious heritage that has been developing through these many centuries; it is a tradition rich in fact and fable to stimulate the imagination of Englishmen. Few writers have tried to ignore that tradition, and not a single one has escaped the influence of his nation's past. Nor may the reader of English literature today hope to comprehend its deepest meaning or to enjoy its richest beauty if he shuts his eyes to English history. Arthur, the legendary chieftain of the Britons who defended his native land against the Saxons a millennium and a half ago, is as young as Kipling's Soldiers Three who fought and swore for the British lion in India; and the archers of Crécy and Poitiers were remembered but yesterday by men who died in Flanders' fields,

> "And died (uncouthly, most) in foreign lands
> For some idea but dimly understood
> Of an English city never built by hands
> Which love of England prompted and made good."

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
Iberians			7
Celts			7-8
	Several centuries B.C.—Celtic invasions.		7-8
Romans			8-9
	B.C. 55—First Roman invasion.		8
	A.D. 410—End of Roman rule.		9
Anglo-Saxons			9-19
	5th and 6th C.—Germanic invasions.		9-10
	c. 432—Christianity established in Ireland.		16
	520—Battle of Mount Badon.		11
	597—St. Augustine lands in England.		16
	7th C.—Irish missionaries in England.		16
	—Northumbrian ascendancy.		19
	664—Synod of Whitby.		16
		Early 8th C.—Cædmon and Bede.	19
		c. 750—*Beowulf*.	19
Anglo-Saxons and Danes			19-23
	793—Danes raid Lindisfarne.		19
	9th C.—Danish invasions.		19

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
(Alfred, 871-901)			19-20
	878—Danelaw established.		20
		10th C.—Nennius.	11
	912—Danes settle in Normandy.		20
	937—Battle of Brunanburh.		20
	955—West Saxon ascendancy established.		20
(Ethelred, the Redeless, 978-1016)			20
	980—Danish invasions recommence.		20
	991—Danegeld instituted.		20
	1002—Ethelred attacks Normans.		20
	1013—Sweyn overruns England.		20
(Canute, 1017-1035)			21
(Edward the Confessor, 1042-1065)			21
(Harold, 1066)			21-22
	1066—Battle of Hastings.		22-23
NORMAN AND ANGLO-NORMAN KINGS			22-23
William I, the Conqueror, 1066-1087 (cousin of Edward the Confessor)			25-35
			25-31

	1069—William I's second coronation, at York.		29
	1071—Saxon resistance overcome.		29
	1086—Domesday Book.		30
	—Oath of Salisbury.		27
William II, Rufus, 1087-1100 (son of William I)			31
	1096—First Crusade.		31
Henry I, 1100-1135 (brother of William II)			32
	1100—Charter of Liberties.		32
		Early 12th C.—Geoffrey of Monmouth.	33
	1106—Battle of Tinchebrai.		32
Stephen, 1135-1154 (nephew of Henry I)			35
	1139—Beginning of struggle between Stephen and Matilda.		35
		1154—End of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*	35
ANGEVIN OR PLANTAGENET DYNASTY			35-66
Henry II, 1154-1189 (grandson of Henry I)			35-38
	1162—Becket becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.		37
	1170—Murder of Becket.		37

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
Richard I, the Lion-hearted, 1189-1199 (son of Henry II)			
	1189—Richard departs on Third Crusade.		38-40
John, 1199-1216 (brother of Richard I)			39
			40-41
		c. 1200—Layamon's *Brut.*	41
	1204—Loss of French possessions.		40
	1213—John submits to the Pope.		41
	1215—Magna Carta.		41
Henry III, 1216-1272 (son of John)			
	1221—Coming of the friars.		42-45
		c. 1250—*Cuckoo Song.*	43
		—*Lay of Havelok the Dane.*	44
		1258—First royal proclamation in English.	44
	1265—De Montfort's Parliament.		43
Edward I, 1272-1307 (son of Henry III)			42
	1284—Wales incorporated into England.		45-50
	1290—Expulsion of Jews.		45-46
	1294—Beginning of war with France.		48
			47

	1295—Model Parliament.		48
	1296—Conquest of Scotland.		46-47
	1305—Beginning of Babylonian Captivity.		47
Edward II, 1307-1327 (son of Edward I)			50-52
	1310—Rising of barons.		51
	1314—Battle of Bannockburn.		51
	1325—Isabella and Mortimer invade England.		51
Edward III, 1327-1377 (son of Edward II)			52-59
	c. 1330—Two houses of Parliament formed.		54
	1333—Battle of Halidon Hill.		52
	1337—Edward III claims French crown.		53
	—Beginning of Hundred Years' War.		53
	1346—Battle of Crécy.		54
	1347—Capture of Calais.		54
	1348—First appearance of Black Death.		55
		c. 1350—Lawrence Minot's songs.	52
		1350—English used in schools.	58
	1351—Statute of Laborers.		55
	1356—Battle of Poitiers.		54
		1362—English used in law courts.	58

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1376—Parliament impeaches a royal minister.		56
	—Death of Black Prince.		56
Richard II, 1377-1399 (grandson of Edward III)			60-66
		1378—Barbour's *Bruce.*	51
		Late 14th C.—Chaucer and Wyclif flourished; *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, The Pearl,* and *Piers the Plowman* written.	58-59
	1381—Peasant Revolt.		61
		c. 1385—First English Bible.	58
	1388—Battle of Otterburn.		62
HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK			
Henry IV, 1399-1413 (cousin of Richard II)			66-73
	1400—Welsh rebellion.		66-67
	1413—Battle of Shrewsbury.		67
Henry V, 1413-1422 (son of Henry IV)			67
	1415—Battle of Agincourt.		67-68
Henry VI, 1422-1461 (son of Henry V)			63
			68-69

	1429—Joan of Arc defeats English.		64
	1450—Jack Cade's rebellion.		62
	1453—End of Hundred Years' War.		64
	1455—Battle of St. Albans.		69
	—Beginning of Wars of the Roses.		69
Edward IV, 1461-1483 (great-great-grandson of Edward III)			69-70
	1470—Temporary triumph of Henry VI.		70
	1471—Battle of Tewkesbury.		70
		1476—Caxton sets up printing press.	73
Edward V, 1483 (son of Edward IV)			70-71
		1484—Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.	73
Richard III, 1483-1485 (brother of Edward IV)			71
	1485—Battle of Bosworth.		71
HOUSE OF TUDOR			75-118
Henry VII, 1485-1509 (great-great-great-grandson of Edward III)			75-81
	1486—Henry VII marries Elizabeth of York.		76
	1487—Court of Star Chamber established.		78

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
		Late 15th C.—English scholars introduce new learning.	80
	1502—Princess Margaret marries James IV of Scotland.		77
	1509—Prince Henry marries Catharine of Aragon.		77
Henry VIII, 1509-1547 (son of Henry VII)			81-90
	1513—Battle of Flodden.		82
		1516—More's *Utopia.*	81
	1520—Field of the Cloth of Gold.		82
	1529—Fall of Wolsey.		84
	1533—Divorce of Catharine of Aragon.		84
	1534—Henry VIII becomes supreme head of Church.		87
	1536—Pilgrimage of Grace.		87
		c. 1538—Great Bible.	88
	1542—Battle of Solway Moss.		88
		1547—Surrey's *Æneid.*	89
Edward VI, 1547-1553 (son of Henry VIII)			90-91
	1549—First Act of Uniformity.		90
Mary, 1553-1558 (sister of Edward VI)			91-92

	1554—Execution of Lady Jane Grey.		91
	—Mary marries Philip II of Spain.		91
	1556—Burning of Cranmer.		92
		1557—*Tottel's Miscellany.*	92
	1557—Scottish Covenant signed.		92
	1558—Loss of Calais.		92
Elizabeth, 1558-1603 (sister of Mary)			93-118
	1559—Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.		98
	—Court of High Commission established.		110
	1561—Mary Stuart returns to Scotland.		102
	1563—Statute of Artificers.		114
	1568—Mary Stuart flies to England.		107
	1569—Revolt of northern nobles.		107
	1570—Elizabeth excommunicated.		99
	1575—Revels at Kenilworth.		111
	1579—Irish revolt.		108
	1580—Drake circumnavigates globe.		111
	1585—England intervenes in Netherlands.		103
	1587—Execution of Mary Stuart.		107
		1587—Marlow's *Tamburlaine.*	115
		1588—"Marprelate" tracts.	100

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1588—Defeat of Armada.		104
		1589—Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations.*	112
		1590—Spenser's *Faerie Queene.*	108
		c. 1591—Shakespeare's plays begin.	115
		1593—Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.*	100
		1597—Bacon's *Essays.*	110
	1601—Poor Laws.		114
	—Execution of Essex.		109
HOUSE OF STUART			
James I, 1603-1625 (great-great-grandson of Henry VII)			119-197
	c. 1604—Puritan exodus begins.		119-125
	1605—Gunpowder Plot.		124
	1611—Plantation of Ulster.		120
			123
		1611—King James' or Authorized version of Bible.	125
	1613—Princess Elizabeth marries Elector Palatine.		122
	1616—Dismissal of Coke.		122
	1618—Execution of Raleigh.		122
	1621—James I summons Parliament.		124
	—Impeachment of Bacon.		124

1623—Failure of Spanish marriage negotiations. 123
1625—Failure of Mansfeld Expedition. 125

Charles I, 1625-1649 (son of James I) 125-126
1628—Petition of Right. 128
—Murder of Buckingham. 128
1633—Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury. 129
1637—Hampden's Case. 129
1639—First Bishops' War. 129-130
—Wentworth returns to England. 130
1640—Short Parliament. 130
—Second Bishops' War. 130
—Long Parliament. 130-146
—Impeachment of Laud. 131
1641—Execution of Strafford (Wentworth). 131
—Grand Remonstrance. 132
1642—Closing of theatres. 132
1642—Outbreak of First Civil War. 132
—Battle of Edgehill. 133
1644—Milton's *Areopagitica*. 132
1644—Battle of Marston Moor. 134
1645—New Model Ordinance. 134
—Battle of Naseby. 135

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1646—Charles surrenders to Scots.		135
	1647—Army occupies London.		135
	1648—Second Civil War.		135-136
	—Pride's Purge.		136
	1649—Execution of Charles I.		136
(Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660)			137-147
	1649—Cromwell conquers Ireland.		142
		1649—Milton's *Eikonoklastes.*	136
		1651—Hobbes's *Leviathan.*	147
	1651—Battle of Worcester.		142
	—Navigation Act.		143
	1652—Outbreak of Dutch War.		143
	1653—Expulsion of Rump.		144
	—Cromwell becomes Lord Protector.		144
	1655—Rule of Major-Generals.		144-145
	1658—Death of Cromwell.		145
	1659—Recall of Rump.		145
	1660—Monck enters London.		146
	—Revival and dissolution of Long Parliament.		146
	—Convention Parliament.		146-147
	—Declaration of Breda.		146-147

Charles II, 1660-1685 (son of Charles I)		149-168
	1660—Charles II returns to England.	149
	—Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.	156-157
	1660—Reopening of theatres.	150
	1661—Cavalier Parliament.	156-157
	—Clarendon Code.	157
	1663—Butler's *Hudibras.*	153
	1665—Last plague in London.	158
	1666—Great fire in London.	159
	1667—Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis.*	159
	—Milton's *Paradise Lost.*	153
	1667—Dutch fleet in Thames.	159
	—Formation of Cabal.	162
	1670—Secret Treaty of Dover.	161
	1672—Declaration of Indulgence.	162
	1673—Test Act.	162
	c. 1673—Beginning of political parties.	162-163
	1676—Duke of York becomes professed Roman Catholic.	164
	1676—Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.*	153
	1677—Princess Mary marries William of Orange.	164
	1678—Popish Plot revealed.	165
	1679—First Exclusion Bill.	166

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1679—Claverhouse and Duke of York in Scotland		169
	1681—Oxford Parliament.		167
	—Shaftesbury's Monmouth plot.		167
		1681—Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel.*	167
		1682—Dryden's *Medal* and *MacFlecknoe.*	167
James II, 1685-1689 (brother of Charles II)			168-172
	1685—Monmouth's rebellion.		169
	1686—Hales' Case.		169
	—Court of Ecclesiastical Commission established.		170
		1687—Dryden's *Hind and the Panther.*	170
	1687—Declaration of Indulgence.		170
	—Dykevelt's mission to England.		170
	1688—Glorious Revolution.		171-173
	—Flight of James II.		172
	1689—Declaration of Right.		172
William III, 1689-1702, and Mary, 1689-1694 (nephew and daughter of James II)			175-180

	1689—Mutiny Bill.		177
	—Bill of Rights.		177
	—Toleration Act.		178
	—Battle of Killiekrankie.		186
		1689—Locke's *Letters on Toleration.*	178
	1690—Battle of the Boyne.		188
	1691—Treaty of Limerick.		188
	1692—Battle of La Hogue.		182
	1694—Death of Queen Mary.		180
	—Founding of Bank of England.		193-194
	1695—Recapture of Namur.		182
		1695—Expiration of Licensing Act.	195
	1697—Peace of Ryswick.		182
		1698—Collier's *Short View of the . . . Stage.*	195
	1701—Act of Settlement.		180
		1701—Defoe's *Trueborn Englishman.*	181
Anne, 1702-1714 (sister of Mary)			180-197
	1702—War of Spanish Succession begins.		183
		1702—Defoe's *Shortest Way with the Dissenters.*	179
	1704—Battle of Blenheim.		184
		1704—Addison's *Campaign.*	184

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
		1704—Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and *Battle of the Books.*	178, 196
	1705—Battle of Ramillies.		184
	1707—Union of England and Scotland.		187
	1710—Tory supremacy.		191
	1711—Occasional Conformity Act.		179
		1711—Pope's *Essay on Criticism.*	196
		—Swift's *Conduct of the Allies.*	185
		—*The Spectator.*	196
		1712—Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull.*	182-183
		—Pope's *Rape of the Lock.*	192
	1713—Treaty of Utrecht.		185
HOUSE OF HANOVER			199-310
George I, 1714-1727 (great-grandson of James I)			
	1714—Beginning of Whig ascendancy.		201-202
	1715—Jacobite revolt.		202-203
	—Riot Act.		213
	1716—Septennial Act.		216
	1720—South Sea scheme.		200
	1721—Walpole becomes chief minister.		204-205
		1726—Swift's *Gulliver's Travels.*	204
			201

George II, 1727-1760 (son of George I)

1727—Indemnity Acts begin.

1729—Beginning of Methodist movement.

1733—Walpole's excise scheme.

1739—War of Jenkins' Ear begins.

1740—War of Austrian Succession begins.

1742—Walpole retires.

1743—Battle of Dettingen.

1745—Battle of Fontenoy.

—Last Jacobite revolt.

1748—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1751—Clive in India.

—Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

1755—Braddock defeated.

202-222

216

1728—Gay's *Beggar's Opera.* 207

221-222

1729—Swift's *Modest Proposal.* 188

205

1736—Butler's *Analogy of Religion.* 221

207

207

208

208

214

214-215

207

1748—Fielding becomes magistrate. 221

—Hume's *Human Understanding.* 221

1749—Fielding's *Tom Jones.* 203

1750—Gray's *Elegy.* 212

210-211

225

211

1755—Johnson's *Dictionary.* 218

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1756—Beginning of Seven Years' War.		208
	—Black Hole of Calcutta.		211
	1757—Elder Pitt becomes minister.		209-210
	—Battle of Plassey.		211
	1759—Conquest of Quebec.		212
		1760—Sterne's *Tristram Shandy.*	221
		—Macpherson's "Ossianic" poems.	264
George III, 1760-1820 (grandson of George II)			223-270
	c. 1760—Blast furnaces coming into use.		242
	1761—Bute enters Ministry.		227
	—Canal locks constructed.		244
	1763—Beginning of Wilkes affair.		230
	—Treaty of Paris.		236
	c. 1764—Spinning jenny invented.		242
	1765—Burke enters Parliament.		232
	—Stamp Act.		238
		1769—Junius letters begin.	231
		—Reynolds's *Discourses.*	233
	1770—North becomes Prime Minister.		226
	—Election Act.		234
		1771—Smollett's *Humphry Clinker.*	219
	1772—Slave-holding abolished in England.		234

1773—Regulating Act.		236
—Boston Tea-party.		239
c. 1773—Steam power coming into use.		243
1774—Discovery of oxygen.		242
1775—Beginning of American Revolution.		240
	1775—Paine's *Common Sense.*	240
	1776—Smith's *Wealth of Nations.*	241
	—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall.*	233
1777—Battle of Saratoga.		241
1778—Alliance of France and United States.		241
1780—Gordon Riots.		235
—Armed Neutrality.		241
—Independence of Irish Parliament.		237
1781—Surrender of Cornwallis.		241-242
1782—Younger Pitt enters Ministry		229
—Economic Reform Bill.		232
	1783—Crabbe's *Village.*	246
1783—Defeat of Fox's India Bill.		236
1784—Pitt fails to reform Parliament.		235
1785—Power loom invented.		243
	1785—Cowper's *Task.*	234
1786—Impeachment of Hastings.		236
1787—Eden Treaty.		245

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1787—Pitt consolidates customs and excise, and creates Sinking Fund.		247
	1788—Australia settled.		237
	—George III temporarily insane.		247-248
	1789—Beginning of French Revolution.		252
		1789—Burns appointed to excise service.	254
		1790—Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*	254
	1793—England begins war against revolutionary France.		255
	—Reign of Terror in France.		255
		1793—Godwin's *Political Justice.*	257
		1794—Southey's *Wat Tyler.*	61
	1798—French invasion of Switzerland.		259
	—Battle of the Nile.		259
	—Irish rebellion.		261
		1798—Malthus's *Essay on Population.*	276
		—Coleridge's *France: an Ode.*	257
		1799—Wordsworth begins *Prelude.*	254
	1801—Union of Great Britain and Ireland.		262
	1802—Peace of Amiens.		260
		1802—*Edinburgh Review* founded.	276
		—Cobbett founds *Political Register.*	269

1803—England begins war against Napoleon. 262
1804—Napoleon crowned emperor. 262
1805—Battle of Trafalgar. 263
1806—Continental System. 263
1807—Orders in Council. 264
—Abolition of slave trade. 275-276
—Castlereagh becomes Secretary for War. 263
1808—Beginning of Peninsular Campaign. 264-265
1809—*Quarterly Review* founded. 276
1810—Crabbe's *Borough*. 246
1811—Prince of Wales becomes Regent. 265
1812—War against United States. 264
1812—Shelley in Ireland. 272
1813—Steamboat on Clyde. 275
1814—Temporary abdication of Napoleon. 266
—First steam locomotive. 275
1814—Scott's first novel, *Waverley*. 214
1815—Battle of Waterloo. 267
—Congress of Vienna. 267
—Holy and Quadruple Alliances formed. 267
—Corn Laws. 268

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
		1815—Keats's sonnet *On the Day . . . Leigh Hunt Left Prison.*	265
	1819—"Peterloo" massacre.	1817—Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein.*	300
			269
		1819—Shelley's *England in 1819.*	270
George IV, 1820-1830 (son of George III)			
	1820—Bill for Queen Caroline's divorce.		270-273
			270
		1821—Southey's *Vision of Judgment.*	270
		1822—Byron's *Vision of Judgment.*	270
	1822—Peel and Canning liberalize Tory Ministry.		271
		1823—Byron joins Greek revolutionists.	272
	1828—Test Act revised.		272
	—O'Connell elected to Parliament.		272
	c. 1829—Beginning of Trade Unions.		290
	1830—Roman Catholic Emancipation.		272-273
	—Revolutions in France and Belgium.		273
William IV, 1830-1837 (brother of George IV)			
	1830—Beginning of Grey's Whig Ministry.		273-276
			273

	1832—First Parliamentary Reform Bill.		273-274
	1833—Factory Act.		275
	—Beginning of Oxford Movement.		288
	—Slavery prohibited in British colonies.		276
	1834—New Poor Law.		276
	1835—Municipal Corporations Act.		274
		1837—Carlyle's *French Revolution.*	252
		—Dickens's *Oliver Twist.*	292
Victoria, 1837-1901 (niece of William IV)			277-297
	1838—Atlantic crossed by steamship.		282
	—Chartist agitation.		286-287
	1839—Durham's report on Canada.		281
	1840—Victoria's marriage.		278
		1843—Carlyle's *Past and Present.*	37
	1846—Palmerston's ascendancy begins.		279
	—American boundary dispute settled.		284
	—Repeal of Corn Laws.		287
		1847—Thackeray's *Vanity Fair.*	266-267
		—Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre.*	293
		1849—Tennyson's *Princess.*	286
		c. 1850—Beginning of Pre-Raphaelite movement.	291
		1851—Arnold becomes Inspector of Schools.	293

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1852—Disraeli attains prominence.		280
	1854—Crimean War begins.		285
		1854—Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade.*	285-286
	1857—Indian Mutiny.		283
		1859—Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities.*	252
		—Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.*	278
		—Darwin's *Origin of Species.*	292
	1861—Death of Prince Albert.		278
	—Civil War in United States.		284
		1864—Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua.*	289
	1866—Atlantic Cable.		282
	1867—Reorganization of Dominion of Canada.		282
	—Second Parliamentary Reform Bill.		287-288
	1868—Gladstone's First Ministry.		288
	1869—Suez Canal opened.		282
		1869—Mill's *Subjection of Women.*	286
	1870—Irish Land Act.		282
	—Education Bill.		293
		1871—George Eliot's *Middlemarch.*	291
	1871—Irish Home Rule agitation begins.		303

	1872—Settlement of *Alabama* claims.		285
		1872—Butler's *Erewhon.*	300
	1875—Purchase of Suez Canal.		282
	1876—Victoria becomes Empress of India.		280
	1878—Congress of Berlin.		285
	1880—Retirement of Disraeli.		293
	1881—First Boer War.		306
	1882—Occupation of Egypt.		307
	1884—Third Parliamentary Reform Bill.		298
	1885—Gordon at Khartoum.		308
	1887—First Imperial Conference.		296
	1889—Dock Strike.		299
	1898—German naval competition begins.		302
	1899—Second Boer War.		306
Edward VII, 1901-1910 (son of Victoria)			297-310
	1902—British alliance with Japan.		301
	—Boer states annexed.		306
	1904—Entente with France.		302
		1904—Hardy's *Dynasts.*	267
George V, 1910- (son of Edward VII)			297-310

RULERS OF ENGLAND	EVENTS IN POLITICAL HISTORY	EVENTS IN LITERARY HISTORY	PAGE
	1911—Parliament Bill.		299
	—Durbar.		307
	1914—Outbreak of World War.		302
	—Irish Home Rule Bill.		305
		1914—Masefield's *August 1914.*	302
	1918—End of World War.		303
	—Fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill.		299
	1921—Creation of Irish Free State.		305

(Where the date of composition of a literary work is unknown or unimportant, the date of publication is given instead, in the above table.)

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING IN ENGLISH HISTORY

In the compilation of the following bibliography, three factors were borne in mind: interest, accuracy, and brevity. Almost all of the titles suggested are of single-volume works.

Probably the best single-volume histories of England are those by S. R. Gardiner, J. R. Green, L. M. Larson, and W. E. Lunt.

CHAPTER I: ENGLAND.

N. Ault, *Life in Ancient Britain* (London, 1920).

J. R. Green, *A Short Geography of the British Isles* (London, 1879).

CHAPTER II: BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST (Before 1066).

R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (London, 1923).

C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (London, 1910).

M. and C. H. B. Quennel, *Everyday Life in Anglo-Saxon, Viking, and Norman Times* (London, 1926).

H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force* (Philadelphia, 1870).

B. A. Lees, *Alfred the Great* (New York, 1915).

CHAPTER III: FEUDAL ENGLAND (1066-1272).

G. B. Adams, *History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John* (London, 1905).

J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895).

Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry II* (London, 1888; New York, 1889).

T. F. Tout, *History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III* (London, 1905).

F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror* (New York, 1908).

CHAPTER IV: THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES (1272-1485).

K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1914).

C. H. Haskins, *The Rise of the Universities* (New York, 1923).

E. L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters in the Middle Ages* (London, 1872).

A. Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars* (London, 1905).

R. B. Mowat, *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 1914).

D. Hughes, *Illustrations of Chaucer's England* (London, 1918).

J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1929).

Chapter V: England Under the Early Tudors (1485-1558).

H. A. L. Fisher, *History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII* (London, 1906).

A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII* (London, 1905).

—— *History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth* (London, 1910).

S. Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904).

Chapter VI: The Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603).

A. F. Pollard, *History of,* etc. (See Chapter V above).

L. Einstein, *Tudor Ideals* (New York, 1921).

M. S. Byrne, *Elizabethan Life in Town and Country* (London, 1926).

L. Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex* (London, 1928).

W. Raleigh and others, eds., *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916).

Chapter VII: The Early Stuarts (1603-1649).

G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (New York, 1914).

J. F. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge, 1914).

Chapter VIII: The Republican Experiment (1649-1660).

H. Johnstone, *Oliver Cromwell and His Times* (London, 1912).

L. Jenks, *Constitutional Experiments, 1649-1660* (Cambridge, 1890).

Chapter IX: The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution (1660-1689).

M. Coate, *Social Life in Stuart England* (New York, 1925).

R. Lodge, *History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III* (London, 1910).

S. Pepys, *Diary*.

Chapter X: The Last Stuarts (1689-1714).

I. S. Leadam, *History of England from the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II* (London, 1909).

W. M. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne* (New Haven, 1920).

M. E. Grew, *William Bentinck and William III* (London, 1924).

Chapter XI: The First Two Georges (1714-1760).

J. Morley, *Robert Walpole* (London, 1890).

W. D. Green, *William Pitt* (New York, 1911).

A. S. Turberville, *English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1926).

W. H. Irving, *John Gay's London* (Cambridge, 1928).

Chapter XII: The Reign of George III, Up to the Outbreak of the French Revolution (1760-1789).

D. A. Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government* (Cambridge, 1910).

C. H. Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence* (Boston, 1922).

W. Bowden, *Industrial Society in England Towards the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1925).

Chapter XIII: French Revolution and English Reform (1789-1837).

W. L. Mathieson, *England in Transition, 1789-1832* (London, 1920).

J. Fortesque, *Wellington* (New York, 1925).

G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1922).

J. A. R. Marriott, *England Since Waterloo* (New York, 1913).

Chapter XIV: Mid-Victorian England (1837-1880).
L. Strachey, *Victoria* (London, 1921).
O. Burdett, *Wm. E. Gladstone* (London, 1927).
A. Maurois, *Disraeli* (London, 1927).
J. A. R. Marriott (See Chapter XIII above).
Chapter XV: The British Empire (Since 1880).
R. Jebbs, *The Britannic Question* (New York, 1913).
Viscount Haldane, *Before the War* (London, 1920).
H. Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire* (Boston, 1922).

INDEX

Abhorrers, 166
Abraham, Plains of, 212
Absalom and Achitophel, Dryden's, 152, 163, 167
Acadia, 185 f.
Achitophel, 163
Acre, 39
Acts—of Indemnity and Oblivion, 156 f.—against Occasional Conformity, 179—of Settlement, 180, 183, 185—of Supremacy, 98—of Uniformity, 90, 98
Adams, J. Q., 272
Addington, English minister, 260
Addison, Joseph, 184, 196
"A.E.", 305
Aeneid, Surrey's, 89
Africa, 111, 301
Age of Reason, Paine's, 240
Agincourt, battle of, 63, 68
Agincourt, Drayton's, 63, 117
Agricultural conditions, 4
Agriculture, in 18th Century, 216 f., 224, 245—in 19th Century, 268, 275, 291
Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, 208
Alabama affair, 284 f.
Albert, Prince Consort, 278, 284
Alchemy, 57
Alençon, Duke of, 108
Alexander I, Czar, 267
Alfred, King, 19 f.
Algeciras, 302
Allworthy, Mr., 156
Alva, Duke of, 99, 103
America, 102, 111, 124, 185, 205, 207, 209 ff., 235, 237
American Revolution, 226, 228, 231 f., 237 ff., 281
Amiens, Peace of, 260 ff.
Analogy of Religion, Butler's, 221
Ancients, 196, 223
Angevin dynasty, 36 (*see also* Plantagenets)
Angles, 8, 10, 19 (*see also* Saxons)
Anglican Church, 98, 100—under early Stuarts, 120, 123, 126 f., 129—under Commonwealth, 139, 141—under last Stuarts, 153, 156 ff., 162, 170, 178 f., 189 f., 200—under George II, 221 f.—in 19th Century, 288 f., 293
Anglo-Catholic, 289
Anglo-Normans, culture, 27 f., 33 ff.—society, 27 f. (*see also* Normans)
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 35
Anglo-Saxon language, in feudal England, 28, 35—developing into English, 41, 43 f.
Anglo-Saxon literature, 17, 44
Anglo-Saxons (*see* Saxons)
Anne, 164, 172, 180, 183 ff., 190 ff., 201, 213
Anne of Cleves, 84, 86
Annus Mirabilis, Dryden's, 159
Anselm, Archbishop, 32
Apologia pro Vita Sua, Newman's, 289
Apprentices, 114
Arbitration, 285
Arbuthnot, Dr. John, 183
Archery, military value of, 46, 53 f., 63
Architecture, in feudal England, 28, 43—under Elizabeth, 113—under Charles II, 159
Area, 4
Areopagitica, Milton's, 132, 195
Argyle, Duke of, 169—leader of Campbells, 186
Armada, 103 ff.
Armed Neutrality, 241, 260
Armistice, 299, 303

Army Plot, 131
Arnold, Matthew, 291, 293
Arteveld, Van, 53
Arthur, King, 11, 33 f., 41, 58, 73, 278
Arthur, nephew of Richard I, 40
Arthur, son of Henry VII, 77
Arturus (*see* Arthur, King)
Ascham, 89
Asia, 209, 301 f., 307
Asiento, 207
Assembly, French revolutionary, 252
Attainder, bills of, 121
Atterbury, Bishop, 213
Augsburg, League of, 181
August 1914, Masefield's, 302
Augustinians, 57
Austerlitz, battle of, 263
Australia, 237, 301, 305
Austria, relations with George II, 207 ff.—and Revolutionary France, 253, 258, 260, 262 f., 266 f.—in Nineteenth Century, 285, 301
Austrian Succession, 207, 214
Avalon, 33
Avignon, 47

Babington plot, 107
Baptists, 157
Babylonian Captivity, 47 f., 58, 85
Bacon, Francis, 110, 124, 152
Bacon, Nicolas, 110
Bahamas, 308
Balaclava, 285
Balkan Wars, 302
Ball, John, 61
Balliol, Edward, 52
Balliol, John, 46
Bank of England, 193 f.
Bannockburn, battle of, 51
Banns, 220
Barons, risings against—William I, 29—Stephen, 35 f.—John, 41—Henry III, 42—Edward II, 51—in Fifteenth Century, 60
Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, 51
Bastille, 252
Bath, 219
Battle of the Books, Swift's, 196
Bavaria, 208
Bayonets, development of, 186
Beaconsfield (*see* Disraeli)
Beauclerk (*see* Henry I)
Beaufort, House of, 65, 71
Becket, Thomas, 31, 36 ff., 57
Bede, Venerable, 19
Beggar's Opera, Gay's, 207, 219 f.
Belgium, in Nineteenth Century, 273, 301
Benefit of clergy, 38
Bengal, 211
Bentham, Jeremy, 269, 276, 288
Beowulf, 19, 21—Hrothgar's hall in, 13
Berlin, Congress of, 285, 301
Berlin Decree, 263
Bernadotte, king of Sweden, 264
Berwick, Duke of, 180
Bible, first translation, 58—Tudor translations, 81, 88, 116—King James' or Authorized Version, 125 f.
Bill of Rights, 177
Bishops' War, First, 129 f.—Second, 130 f.
Bismarck, 301
Black Death, 55
Black Hole, 211
Black Prince, 54, 56, 59
Blake, Admiral, 142 f.
Blanche of Lancaster, 59
Blenheim, battle of, 184
Blondel, 39
Bloody Circuit, 169
Bloody Mary (*see* Mary Tudor)
Blücher, 267
Blue Laws, 153
Blue Stockings, 218 f.
Boadicea, 8
Boccaccio, 59
Boers, 282, 306 f.
Boileau, French poet, 182, 196
Boleyn, Anne, 83 f., 93 f., 102
Bolingbroke (*see* Henry IV—and St. John)
Bonaparte, Joseph, 264 f.
Bonaparte (*see* Napoleon)

Bonnie Prince Charlie (*see* Stuart, Charles Edward)
Book of Common Prayer, 90
Book of the Duchess, Chaucer's, 59
"Book of the Machines" (*see Erewhon*)
Borough, Crabbe's, 246
Boroughs, 110, 200, 233, 274
Boston Massacre, 239
Boston Tea-party, 239
Bosworth, battle of, 68, 71
Botany Bay, 237
Bothwell, Earl of, 106
Bower, 13, 15
Boyle's Law, 151
Boyne, battle of the, 188
"Boys" (*see* Whigs)
Braddock, English general, 211
Breda, Declaration of, 146
Brisk boys, 165
British Guiana, 308
Britons, 8, 10, 11
Brittany, 10
Browne, Sir Thomas, 139
Brownists (*see* Independents)
Bruce, David, 52
Bruce, Robert, claimant to Scottish throne, 46
Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, 47, 51 f.
Bruce, Barbour's, 51
Brunanburh, battle of, 20, 44
Brunswick, Duke of, 253
Brut, Layamon's, 41
Brutus, 8, 33, 41
Buccleugh, 154
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, favorite of James I, 122, 126 ff.
Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of, courtier of Charles II, 151 f.
Bulwer, E. L., 22
Bunker Hill, battle of, 240
Bunyan, John, 135, 153
Burgoyne, General, 241
Burgundy, 63 f.
Burial of Sir John Moore, Wolfe's, 265
Burke, Edmund, 232 ff., 236, 254
Burleigh, William Cecil, Lord, 110, 117
Burns, Robert, 254
Bute, John, Earl of, 227, 230
Butler, Bishop, 221
Butler, Samuel (*Hudibras*), 153
Butler, Samuel (*Erewhon*), 300
Byrd, William, 116
Byron, Lord, 231, 270, 272

Cabal, 162 f.
Cabinet system of government, 189 f., 206, 225 f., 235
Cabot, John, 80
Cade, Jack, 62
Cadiz, 103
Caedmon, 19
Caesar, Julius, 8
Cain, 16, 57
Calais, captured by Edward III, 54—retained by English, 64—loss of, 92—Armada at, 104
Caleb Williams, Godwin's, 257
Calendar reform, 220
Calcutta, 211
Calvin, John, 92, 99, 126
Cambridge University, 170 (*see also* Universities)
Camperdown, victory of, 259
Campaign, Addison's, 184
Campbells, 186 f., 213
Campeggio, Cardinal, 83
Canada, 209, 212, 281 f., 284, 305
Canada Act, 282
Canals, 244, 274
Canning, George, 271 f.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, 37
Canterbury Tales, Chaucer's, 59
Canute, Danish king of England, 21
Cape St. Vincent, victory of, 259
Carew, Thomas, 139
Carlos II, king of Spain, 182 f.
Carlyle, Thomas, 37, 252, 290
Carmelites, 57
Carnarvon, 46
Carnarvon, Edward of (*see* Edward II)
Carnot, 253
Caroline of Anspach, 202, 206

Caroline, wife of George IV, 270 f.
Carteret, John, 208
Casket letters, 106
Castlemaine, Lady, 153, 201
Castlereagh, Tory minister, 263 f., 269, 271, 284
Catharine of Aragon, 77, 82 ff., 86, 90, 93 f.
Catharine of Braganza, 160, 164
Cavaliers, 237 (*see also* Royalists)
Cawnpore, 283
Caxton, William, 73
Cecil (*see* Burleigh)
Celtic—Christianity, 16—language, 5, 12
Celts, 7, 11 f.—in Wales, 32, 45
Central Powers, 302
Ceylon, 308
Chapman, George, 117
Charge of the Light Brigade, Tennyson's, 285 f.
Charlemagne, 77
Charles I, 123 ff., 149, 215
Charles II, 142, 146 ff.
Charles, Archduke, 184 f.
Charles VI, king of France, 63
Charles VII, king of France, 63 f.
Charles V, Hapsburg emperor, 82 f., 101
Charles II, king of Spain (*see* Carlos II)
Charter—of Chartist movement, 286—Great (*see* Magna Carta)—of Liberties, 32
Charters, of colonies, 237 f.
Chartists, 286 f., 292
Chatham, Earl of (*see* Pitt, William, the Elder)
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 6, 35, 38, 43, 48, 57, 59, 73, 309
Chester Miracle plays, 50, 57
Chesterfield, Lord, 151, 220
Chevy Chase, battle of, 67
Chevy Chase, 62
Chivalry, 33, 53 f.
Church under — Anglo - Normans, 30 f.—Henry II, 36 ff.—John, 40 f.—Henry III, 43—Edward III, 57 f.—Henry IV, 61—Henry VII, 80 f.—Henry VIII, 82 ff.—Edward VI, 90—Mary Tudor, 91 f. (*see also* Anglican Church)
Church, influence on early drama, 49 f.
Churchill (*see* Marlborough)
Christianity, among Britons, 9 f., 16, 34—Saxons converted to, 15
Cities, growth of, 217
"Citizen," 252
Civil List, 177
Civil War, First, 132 ff.—Second, 135 f.
Civil War, American, 284 f., 288
Clarence, Duke of, 70 f., 76
Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, 146, 157, 161
Clarendon Code, 157, 162
Claverhouse, James Graham of, 169, 186 f.
Clay, Henry, 265
Clive, Robert, 210 f.
Cloister and the Hearth, Reade's, 80
Cloth industry, 54 f., 79
Club, 233
Coalition, First, 258—Second, 260—Third, 262 f.
Cobbett, William, 269
Cœur de Lion (*see* Richard I)
Coffee-houses, 164, 196
Coinage, debased by Henry VIII, 98—restored by Elizabeth, 112—restored by Recoinage Act, 194
Coke, Chief Justice, 122
Coldstream Guards, 135
Coleman, secretary to Duke of York, 165
Coleridge, S. T., 217, 254, 257
Colet, 80
Collier, Jeremy, 195
Colonial system, 245
Colonies, various types, 308
Columbus, Christopher, 80
Comitatus, 14
Commerce, early developments of, 39, 49, 112
Commissions, purchase of, 285
Common Sense, Paine's, 240
Commons, House of—origin and rise of, 54, 109, 121—under Charles I, 128, 130 ff.—under

Charles II, 165—under last Stuarts, 190—under first two Georges, 206—under George III, 226, 230 ff., 235—in Nineteenth Century, 273, 304
Commonwealth, 136, 138
Commonwealth of Nations, British, 281, 289, 303, 305, 307 f.
Compromise, between Henry I and Anselm, 32
Concord, battle of, 240
Conduct of the Allies, Swift's, 185
Congregationalists, 127
Congreve, William, 195
Conservatives, 163, 249, 273, 278, 280 f., 287, 304
Consols, 246 f.
Constantinople, fall of, 64, 80
Constitution, development of, 41, 48 f., 144, 150—in Eighteenth Century, 215 f., 234 f.—in Nineteenth Century, 298 f.
Consulate, Napoleon's, 256, 260, 262
Continental Congresses, 240
Continental System, 263
Convention, French revolutionary, 252
"Conversion," 222
Convocation, 86 f.
Cooper, J. F., 212
Coöperative shops, 290
Copenhagen, 260
Copernicus, 80
Corday, Charlotte, 255
Corn Laws, 268—repealed, 287, 292
Cornwall, 10
Cornwallis, Lord, 241
Corporation Act, 216
Corunna, 265
Cotton, 242, 284
Council of State, 138, 141
Country Party, 163
Courtly love, 33
Courts, ecclesiastical, 31, 38
Covenant, 92, 105, 129, 142, 157
Cowper, William, 234
Crabbe, George, 246
Crafts, development of, 56 f.—interest in drama, 50
Cranmer, Thomas, 86, 88, 90, 92
Crashaw, Richard, 139
Crécy, battle of, 46, 54 f., 63
Crimean War, 284 f., 301
Cromwell, Oliver, 131, 133 ff., 147, 151
Cromwell, Richard, 145
Cromwell, Thomas, 84, 86
Crown, its influence, 296 f.
Crusades, 31, 38 f., 45, 79
Cuckoo Song, 44
Culloden, battle of, 215
Culture, under Henry III, 42 ff.—Elizabeth, 114 ff.
Cumberland, Duke of, 214 f.
Customs Act, 238

Danby, Earl of, 163, 166, 178
Danegeld, 20, 30
Danelaw, 20
Danes, in England, 19 ff., in Normandy, 20, 25
Daniel, Samuel, 117
Danish language, influence of, 21
Dante, 59
Danton, 255
Darien Project, 187, 192
Darnley, Henry Stuart, Lord, 106, 119
Darwin, Charles, 276, 292
Declaration—of Independence, 240—of Indulgence, 162, 170 f.—of Right, 172, 177—of Rights, French revolutionary, 252
Defender of the Faith, 83
Defense of the Seven Sacraments, 83
Defoe, Daniel, 158, 179, 181, 185, 191 f.
Deism, 177, 191
Delhi, 307
Denham, John, 139
Derbyshire Insurrection, 269
Deserted Village, Goldsmith's, 217
Despensers, 51
Dettingen, battle of, 208
Dickens, Charles, 252, 290, 292
Dictionary, Johnson's, 151, 218

Dido and Aeneas, Purcell's, 151
Directory, 255 f.
Discourses, Reynolds's, 233
Disraeli, Benjamin, 279 ff., 285, 287, 293, 301, 308
Dissent (*see* Nonconformity)
Dissenters, 158, 162, 178 f., 189, 196, 216, 221, 272—in Ireland, 261
Divine right of kings, 119 f., 122, 126, 157, 173, 177
Dock Strike, 299
Domesday Book, 30
Domestic system, 79, 216, 224, 243
Dominicans, 43, 57
Dover, Treaty of, 161 f.
Downing Street, 207 [111
Drake, Sir Francis, 96 f., 103 f.,
Drama, development of, 49 f.
Drayton, Michael, 63, 117
Dress, in mid-Eighteenth Century, 218—in early Nineteenth Century, 276
Drinkwater, John, 107
Druids, 8 f.
Dryden, John, 151 f., 159, 163, 167, 170, 179
Dueling, 196
Dundee (*see* Claverhouse)
Dunkirk, 143
Dunning's Resolution, 226
Dupleix, 210
Duquesne, 211
Durbar, 297, 307
Durham, Lord, 281 f.
Dutch, relations with Charles II, 159 ff. — Wars, 143, 159 — in South Africa, 306 (*see also* Holland, Netherlands)
Dykevelt, Dutch diplomat, 170
Dynasts, Hardy's, 267

East Anglia, 19
East India Company, 111, 210 f., 236, 239, 283
East Indies, 143
Ecclesiastical Commission, 170
Economic Conditions, under Edward III, 54 f.—under last Stuarts, 192, 194 f.
Economic Reform Bill, 232, 234 f.
Edgar Atheling, 22
Eden Treaty, 245
Edgehill, battle of, 133
Edinburgh, 213
Edinburgh Review, 276
Edmund, son of Ethelred, 20 f.
Edward the Confessor, 21 f.
Edward I, 45 ff.
Edward II, 46, 50 ff.
Edward II, Marlowe's, 50
Edward III, 51 ff., 59, 62 f., 65 f., 68, 76, 260
Edward IV, 69 ff., 76
Edward V, 70 f.
Edward VI, 84, 90 f., 93, 98
Edward VII, 297
Edward of York (*see* Edward IV)
Edward, son of Henry VI, 69 ff.
Education, 218, 293
Education Bill, 293
Egypt, 256, 259, 282, 306 ff.
Eikonoklastes, Milton's, 136
Elba, 266
Eldon, Lord, 269
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 36 ff.
Election Act, 234
Elegy, Gray's, 212
Elgin, Lord, 271—Marbles, 271 f.
Eliot, George, 291
Elizabeth, 65, 84, 92 ff., 120 f., 154
Elizabeth, daughter of James I, 122
Elizabeth of York, 76
Elizabethan Settlement, 98 ff.
Emancipation of Irish Catholics, 260, 262, 272 f.
Emancipation Proclamation, 284
Émigrés, 255
Emma of Normandy, 20 f.
Emperor, Holy Roman, 123
Empire, Angevin, 36
Empire, British, origins of, 111 f., 141, 197, 209, 223, 226 f., 236—later developments, 245, 280 f., 283, 294 ff., 303, 306
Empire, Holy Roman, 183
Empire, Indian, 307
Enclosure, 55, 90, 113, 245
Enclosure Acts, 245
Encyclopedists, 251

Engagement, 135
England in 1819, Shelley's, 270
English Ballad, Prior's, 182
English language, developed, 41, 43 f., 49—established, 58 f., 73, 219 f.
Entente, 302
"Enthusiasm," 222
Erasmus, 80 f., 88
Erewhon, Butler's, 300
Essays — Bacon's, 110 — Huxley's, 292
Essay on Criticism, Pope's, 196
Essay on Man, Pope's, 191
Essay on Projects, Defoe's, 192
Essex, Earl of, 108 ff.
Essex, Saxons in, 19
Established Church (*see* Anglican Church)
Estates, Three—in England, 48—in France, 251 f.
Eton, 293
Ethelred, the Redeless, 20 f.
Evangeline, Longfellow's, 186
Everett, Edward, 284
Everlasting Mercy, Masefield's, 6
Excise Bill, 205
Exclusion Bills, 166 f.
Exploration, under Elizabeth, 111 f.

Fabian Society, 300
Fable of the Bees, Mandeville's, 194
Factories, 217, 243, 245
Factory Act, 275, 290
Factory laborers, 275
Fairfax, Thomas, 135
Falstaff, 115
Farmer George (*see* George III)
Farquhar, George, 195
Fashoda, 302
Fawkes, Guy, 120
Ferdinand, king of Spain, 77, 82
Feudal aristocracy, decay of, 78, 109, 111 f.
Feudalism, 26 f.—decay of, 40, 54, 60, 64, 72
Field of the Cloth of Gold, 82
Fielding, Henry, 156, 203, 207, 219 ff.
Fifth Monarchy Men, 155
"Fifty-four forty or fight!" 284
Finance under—James I, 121—Charles I, 127 f., 130—last Stuarts, 192 f.—George III, 246 f.
First Empire, 263
Fitzherbert, Mrs., 270
Flanders, relations with Edward III, 53—with Henry VII, 77
Flodden Field, 82
Florio, John, 117
Forced loan, 127 f.
Ford, John, 77
Forest Courts, 128
Fort Duquesne, 211 f.
Fort Pitt, 212
Fort William Henry, 211
Fontenoy, battle of, 214
Fox, Charles James, 228 f., 235 f., 253 f., 258
France, relations with England under—Henry I, 32—Henry II, 36—John, 40—Edward II, 51—Edward III, 52 ff.—in Fifteenth Century, 61 ff.—Henry VIII, 82 f., 88—Mary Tudor, 92—Elizabeth, 98, 102, 108—Cromwell, 141, 143—Charles II, 159 ff. 167—last Stuarts, 175, 179, 181 ff., 191, 193—first two Georges, 199, 207 ff., 214—George III, 238, 240 ff., 245—in Nineteenth Century, 273, 285, 301 f.
France, relations with Scotland, 47, 52, 105
Francis I, king of France, 82
Francis, Dauphin of France, 102, 105
Francis, Sir Philip, 232
Franciscans, 43, 57
Frankenstein, Mary Shelley's, 300
Franklin, Benjamin, 240, 251
Frederick, Elector Palatine, 122 f.
Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, 208 f.
Frederick, Prince of Wales, 225
Free trade, 245, 287, 289
French and Indian War, 209, 211 ff., 238

French language—in feudal England, 28, 35—influence on English, 41, 44
French literature, influence on English, 44, 150, 196
French Republic, 256, 260
French Revolution, 226, 232, 240, 248, 250 ff.
French Revolution, Carlyle's, 252
Friars, 43, 57 (*see also* Monastic orders)
Fuller, Thomas, 139
Funds, 193
"Fuzzy Wuzzy," Kipling's, 308

Gaels, 7
Gaelic League, 305
Gainsborough, English painter, 233
Galsworthy, John, 300
Gandhi, Mahatma, 307
Garrick, David, 219, 233
Garter, Order of the, 56
Gaveston, Piers, 51
Gay, John, 207, 219 f.
General Warrants, 230, 234
Gentry, rise of, 156
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 33 f.
Geographical conditions, 2 ff.
George I, 192, 196 f., 201 f., 204, 212 f.
George II, 201 f., 206, 208 f., 211 ff., 225
George III, 202, 210, 222 ff., 239 f., 242, 249, 262, 265, 270, 274
George IV (as Prince of Wales, Regent, and king), 226, 228, 248 f., 265, 270, 274
George V, 23, 180, 197, 297 f., 307
German Ministry, 204
Germanic invasions, 9 ff.
Germanic races (*see* Saxons)
Germans, in 1914, 160
Germany, 301 ff.
Gibbon, Edward, 233
Gibraltar, 141, 184
Gilds, 40, 56 f., 79, 243—interest in drama, 50, 57
Gladstone, W. E., 279, 281 f., 285, 287 f., 293, 304, 308
Glastonbury, 9, 34
Glencoe (*see* Macdonalds)
Glendower, Owen, 62, 67
Glorious First of June, 258 f.
Glorious Revolution, 150, 171 ff., 176, 223, 253, 274—principles of, 216
Gloucester (*see* Richard III; and Thomas)
Godfrey, London magistrate, 165
Godwin, William, 257
Golden Hind, 97
Golden Jubilee, 296
Goldsmith, Oliver, 217, 233
Gordon, General, 308
Gordon riots, 224, 235
Grafton, 154
Graham (*see* Claverhouse)
Grand Alliance, 183
Grand Monarch (*see* Louis XIV)
Grand Remonstrance, 132
Grand tour, 219
Gray, Thomas, 212, 219
Great Bible, 88 f.
Great Britain, united, 187
Great Commoner (*see* Pitt, William, the Elder)
Great Schism in Papacy, 47 f., 85
Greek Independence, 271 f.
Greene, Robert, 117
Gregory, Pope, 220
Grenville, Richard, 108
Grenville, Whig minister, 227, 234
Grey, Lady Jane, 90 f.
Grey, Lord, 273
Grocyn, 80
Grub Street, 218
Guillotine, 253
Guise, 108—Mary of, 105
Gulf Stream, 3
Gulliver's Travels, Swift's, 193, 201
Gunpowder, introduction of, 54
Gunpowder Plot, 120
Gustavus Adolphus, 129
Gwyn, Nell, 153 f., 168, 201

Habeas Corpus Act, 166, 169
Hadrian's Wall, 9
Hakluyt, Richard, 112
Hal, Prince (*see* Henry V)

Hales, trial of, 169
Halidon Hill, battle of, 52
Halifax, Earl of (*see* Montagu)
Hall, center of Saxon life, 13 ff.
Hamlet, Shakespeare's, 309
Hammer of the Scots (*see* Edward I)
Hampden, John, 129, 131 f., 134
Händel, 219
Hanover, 201
Hanover, House of, 123, 180 f., 186, 191 f., 199, 203
Hapsburg, Emperor Maximilian, 77
Hardy, liberal shoe-maker, 257
Hardy, Thomas, 12, 267
Harley, Earl of Oxford, 191 f., 203
Harold, last Saxon king of England, 22 f.
Harrow, 293
Hastings, battle of, 22 f.
Hastings, claimant to Scottish throne, 46
Hastings, Warren, 232, 236
Havelok the Dane, 21, 44
Hawkins, John, 111
Haydon, Benjamin, 272
Heart of Midlothian, Scott's, 213
Hengest, leader of the Jutes, 10
Henrietta Maria, 126, 131
Henrietta of Orléans, 180
Henry I, reign of, 32 ff.—legal system developed by Henry II, 36
Henry II, 36 ff.
Henry III, 42 ff.
Henry IV, 60, 65 ff.
Henry IV, Shakespeare's, 64
Henry V, 53, 60, 62 f., 67 f.
Henry V, Shakespeare's, 53, 64
Henry VI, 60, 62 ff., 68 ff.
Henry VI, Shakespeare's, 64
Henry VII, 60, 68, 71, 73 ff., 76 ff., 102
Henry VIII, 77, 81 ff., 90, 94, 98, 108
Henry Esmond, Thackeray's, 184, 196
Herbert, George, 139
Hereford (*see* Henry IV)
Hereward, "the Wake," 29
Herrick, Robert, 139
Hewlett, Maurice, 107
High Anglican (*see* High Church)
High Church, 126 ff., 158, 163, 189, 289
High Commission, Court of, 110, 122, 124, 170
High Court of Justice, 136
Highlanders, Scottish, 186 f., 213 ff.
Hind and the Panther, Dryden's, 170
Hindus, 283
History of John Bull, Arbuthnot's, 182 f.
History of the Kings of Britain (*see* Geoffrey of Monmouth)
Hobbes, Thomas, 157
Hogarth, William, 220
Holland, 99, 183, 273 (*see also* Dutch—and Netherlands)
Holy Alliance, 267, 271 f.
Holy Grail, 9, 34
Holy Land, 31, 39, 45
Holy Roman Empire, 77
Home Rule, Irish, 237, 279, 298, 303 f.
Hooker, Richard, 100
Horace, Latin poet, 196
Horsa, leader of the Jutes, 10
Hotspur (*see* Percy)
Howard, Catherine, 84
Howard, prison reformer, 235, 246
Hudibras, Butler's, 153
Hugo, Victor, 267
Huguenots, 108, 160, 170
Hume, David, 221
Humphry Clinker, Smollett's, 219
Hundred Days, 266 f.
Hundred Years' War, 47, 53 ff., 62 ff., 111
Hunt, Leigh, 265
Hunting of the Cheviot (*see Chevy Chase*)
Huxley, Thomas, 292
Hyde, Anne, 157, 164

Iacobites, 58
Iberians, 7
Idylls of the King, Tennyson's, 278
Imperial Conference, 296
Import duties, 128, 247

Indemnity Acts, 216
Independents, 127, 131, 134, 138
India, 111, 209 ff., 236—in Napoleonic wars, 259 f.—in Nineteenth Century, 278, 280, 282 f., 285—in Twentieth Century, 307
India Bill, 235 f.
Indulgences, 57
Industrial Revolution, 216, 224, 242 ff., 268, 275, 289 f.
Inoculation, 220
Instrument of Government, 144
Intolerable Acts, 239
Iona, Celtic Christian mission, 16
Ireland, origins, 7, 16, 18—under —Henry II, 36—Richard II, 66 —Henry VIII, 88—Elizabeth, 108 f.—James I, 123—Charles I, 130, 132, 135—Cromwell, 142—Charles II, 155, 165—James II, 171—Last Stuarts, 186 ff., 197 —first two Georges, 199, 213—under George III, 236 f., 261 f., 272 f.—in Nineteenth Century, 282, 287, 289, 303 ff.—in Twentieth Century, 305, 307
Irish Free State, 305
Irish Land Act, 282
Irish Parliament, 261 f., 303 f.
Iron Duke (*see* Wellington)
Ironsides, 134
Isabella of Castile, 80
Isabella, queen of Edward II, 51 f.
Italy, 285, 301
Ivanhoe, Scott's, 30, 39

Jacobins, 255, 257
Jacobites, 179 ff., 186, 189, 192, 202, 224—the 'Fifteen, 213—the 'Forty-five, 214 f., 224
James I, 106, 119 ff., 180
James II (previously Duke of York), 150, 155, 159, 164 ff., 179 ff., 183, 186 f., 199 f.
James IV, king of Scotland, 77, 82
James V, king of Scotland, 88, 105
James VI, king of Scotland (*see* James I)
Jameson's raid, 306
Jamestown, 124
Jane Eyre, Brontë's, 293
Japan, 301, 307
Jeffrey, Judge, 169
Jenkins' Ear, War of, 207, 213
Jenkins, Robert, 207
Jennings, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 184 f., 191
Jesuits, 165, 172
Jews, expelled by Edward I, 48 f.—permitted to return, 140—under Charles II, 154—under last Stuarts, 178—under George II, 220
Joan of Arc, 63 f.
Jocelyn of Brakelond, 37
John, King, 31, 40 f.
John of Gaunt, 56, 58 f., 65 f., 71, 80
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 151, 214, 218 f., 224, 233
Jones, Inigo, 122
Jonson, Ben, 122
Joseph of Arimathea, 9, 34
Journal to Stella, Swift's, 191
Junius, 231 f.
Junto, 190
Justices of the Peace, 156, 203
Jutes, 10, 19

Katherine, queen of Henry V, 63
Keats, John, 5, 35, 265, 272, 288
Keble, John, 288
Kenilworth, 96, 111, 115
Kent, Jutes settle in, 19
Khartoum, 308
Kidnapped, Stevenson's, 215
Killiekrankie, battle of, 186
King John, Shakespeare's, 40
King's evil, 201
King's Friends, 229 f.
Kingsley, Charles, 29
Kipling, Rudyard, 296, 301, 308, 310
Kirk o'Field, 106
Kitchener, Lord, 306, 308
Knox, John, 92, 105 f.

Labor, 275, 290, 299 f.
Lackland (*see* John)
Lafayette, 251

La Hogue, victory of, 182
Laissez faire, 241, 275, 290
Lancaster, House of, 60, 65 f., 68 ff. (*see also* Henry IV)
Langland, William, 59
Language, in Anglo-Norman period, 28, 34 f.—Elizabethan, 116
Laud, Archbishop, 129, 131, 147
Last of the Mohicans, Cooper's, 211
Latimer, Bishop, 91 f.
Latin language, place and influence in England, 12, 28, 34 f., 44, 219 f.
Latitudinarians (*see* Low Church)
Law, under—William I, 30—Henry I, 32—Henry II, 36, 38—Richard I, 39—Edward I, 48 f.
Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Hooker's, 100
Lawrence, D. H., 300
Lay Sermons, Huxley's, 292
Layamon, 41
League of Nations, 303
Lear, King, 41
Leicester, Earl of, 103, 109, 111, 115
Leipzig, battle of, 266
Leopold I, Emperor, 182
Les Miserables, Hugo's, 267
Letters on Toleration, Locke's, 178
Levellers, 141 f.
Leviathan, Hobbes's, 157
Lexington, battle of, 240
Liberals, 163, 304
Licensing Act, 195
Life Guards, 155
Life of Jonathan Wild the Great, Fielding's, 207, 220
Limerick, Treaty of, 188
Linacre, 80
Lindisfarne, 19
Lincoln, Abraham, 284
Lion-heart (*see* Richard I)
Lion of Justice (*see* Henry I)
Literature, in feudal England, 28, 36 f., 43 f.—under Edward I, 49 f.—in Fourteenth Century, 58 ff.—under Henry VIII, 89—Elizabethan, 116 ff.—under Commonwealth, 138 ff.—of Restoration, 150 ff.—in mid-Eighteenth Century, 218 ff.—under George III, 239—and French Revolution, 254—in early Nineteenth Century, 276
Little Corporal (*see* Napoleon)
Little Englander, 281 (*see also* Old Connection)
Liverpool, 275
Lloyd George, David, 298
Llywelyn, 45
Locke, John, 177 f., 194
Lodge, Thomas, 117
Lollards, 58, 61, 85
London, in Civil Wars, 132 f.—in Restoration, plague, and fire, 158 f.—under Charles II, 167 f.—under late Stuarts, 195
Longfellow, H. W., 186
Longshanks (*see* Edward I)
Lords Appellant, 65
Lords of the Congregation, 105 f.
Lords, House of, early history, 54, 109, 138—after Commonwealth, 216, 233, 273, 298 f.
Louis XIV, king of France, 153, 155, 160 f., 166, 170 f., 180 ff., 193, 197, 250, 256, 302
Louis XV, king of France, 185, 250
Louis XVI, king of France, 250 f., 253, 255, 266
Louis XVIII, king of France, 266
Louisburg, 212
Lovelace, Richard, 139
Low Church, 158, 189
Lucknow, 283
Luther, Martin, 80 ff., 126
Lyell, geologist, 276
Lyly, John, 117

Macaulay, T. B., 211, 236, 290
Macdonalds of Glencoe, 187
MacDonald, Ramsay, 300
MacFlecknoe, Dryden's, 167
Magna Carta, 41
Macpherson, James, 264
Major Generals, rule of, 144 f.
Majuba, 306
Malignants, 149

Malory, Sir Thomas, 73
Malthus, 276
Manchester, 269, 275
Mandates, 303
Mandeville, Bernard, 194
Manning, Cardinal, 289
Mansfeld expedition, 125
Mansfield, Chief Justice, 234
Marat, 255
March (*see* Mortimer)
Margaret of Anjou, 68 ff.
Marengo, battle of, 260
Maria Theresa, 207 f.
Marie Antoinette, 251
Marie de France, 37
Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of, 184 f., 190
Marlowe, Christopher, 50, 115
Marriage Act, 220
Marston Moor, battle of, 134
Martin Marprelate tracts, 100
Marvell, Andrew, 139
Mary, daughter of James II, 164, 172, 175, 177, 180 ff., 186
Mary of Modena, 164, 172
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 88, 92, 97, 102 f., 105 ff., 119
Mary Tudor, Queen of England, 77, 87, 90 ff., 93 f., 98, 101 f.
Masefield, John, 6, 302
Masham, Abigail, 185, 191
Massachusetts, 239 f.
Matilda (*see* Maud)
Maud, Empress, 35 f.
Mazarin, Cardinal, 160
Mead, Saxon beverage, 14
Medal, Dryden's, 167
Mediterranean, 184
Melbourne, Lord, 277
Mercantile system, 79, 194 f., 228
Metternich, Count, 267
Mercia, 19
Merry Wives of Windsor, Shakespeare's, 115
Methodism, 221 f., 246
Middle class, rise of, 39 f., 56, 60, 72, 113
Middle English language, 35, 43 f.
Middlemarch, George Eliot's, 291
Mill, J. S., 286, 288
Milton, John, 5, 126, 131 ff., 136, 138 f., 153, 195
Minerals, 5
Ministers, responsibility of, 121, 150, 163, 178, 189, 200, 206, 225 f.
Minorites, 57
Minot, Lawrence, 52
Miranda, 257
Model Parliament, 48
Moderns, 196, 223
Modest Proposal, Swift's, 188
Mohammedans, 283
Monastic orders, 33, 87, 89 (*see also* Friars)
Monck, General, 146
Monmouth, Duke of, 153 f., 167, 169 f.
Monopolies, 114, 128
Monroe Doctrine, 272
Montagu, Charles, Earl of Halifax, 193 f.
Montagu, Edward, 166
Montcalm, French general, 211 f.
Montesquieu, 251
Montfort, Simon de, 42, 50, 65
Montreal, 212
Montrose, Earl of, 135
Moore, Sir John, 265
More, Sir Thomas, 81 f., 86 f.
Morris, William, 291
Morte d'Arthur, Malory's, 73
Mortimer, Edmund, Earl of March, 66 ff.
Mortimer, Roger, 51 f.
Mosaic Cabinet, 227 f.
Moscow, 266
Mount Badon, battle of, 11
Municipal Corporations Act, 274
Music, Elizabethan, 116—in mid-Eighteenth Century, 219
Mutiny Act, 177
Mutiny in India, 283
"My Son's Ministry," 228

Namur, capture of, 182
Nantes, Edict of, 170
Napoleon I, 244, 256, 259 f., 262 ff., 268 f., 302
Napoleonic wars, 248, 250, 262 ff.

aseby, battle of, 135
ash, Beau, 219
ashe, Thomas, 117
ational Debt, 193, 247
ationalists, Irish, 305
avarino, battle of, 272
avigation Acts, 143, 155, 289
avy, under—Commonwealth, 142—Charles II, 155—George III, 258 f.
elson, Horatio, 259, 263
ennius, 11
Neo-classicism," 196, 239
etherlands, relations with—Edward III, 53—Henry VIII, 82—Elizabeth, 102 ff.—Cromwell, 142 f.—revolutionary France, 253, 255 (*see also* Dutch—and Holland)
etherlands, Spanish, 160 f.
ewcastle, Thomas Pelham, Duke of, 208 ff., 227, 232
ew Forest, 30
ewfoundland, 308
ewman, Cardinal, 288 f.
ew Model army, 135
ew Model ordinance, 134
ewspapers, 164, 195 f.
ewton, Isaac, 152, 194
ew Zealand, 305
eville, 107
ightingale, Florence, 286
ile, battle of the, 259
oah's Flood, 50
onconformity, 147, 176
onconformists (*see* Dissenters)
on-jurors, 178
ormans, 25 f. (*see also* Anglo-Normans)
orman conquest, 5, 21 ff.
ormandy, 20, 31 f.
orth, Lord, 226, 228, 240
orth, Thomas, 117
orth Briton Review, 230
orth Sea, 143
orthumberland, counselor of Edward VI, 90 f.
orthumberland (*see* Percy)
orthumbria, 19
ova Scotia, 186
Number 45 (*see North Briton Review*)

Oates, Titus, 165
Occasional conformity, 162, 179
O'Connell, Daniel, 272 f.
Oldcastle, Sir John, 61
Old Connection, 227
Oliver the Spy, 269
Oliver Twist, Dickens's, 292
On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic, Wordsworth's, 259
On the Idea of a Patriot King, Bolingbroke's, 204
Opera, 219
Orange Free State, 306
Orangemen, 188, 261
Orders in Council, 264 ff.
Orford, Earl of (*see* Walpole)
Orient, 111, 210
Origin of Species, Darwin's, 292
Orléans, 63 f.
Osborne, Dorothy, 161
Ossianic poems, Macpherson's, 264
Otterburn, battle of, 62
Owen, Robert, 290
Oxford, Earl of (*see* Harley)
Oxford Movement, 288 f., 291
Oxford University, 37, 80, 170, 306
Oxygen, 242

"Packing," 110
Paine, Tom, 240, 254, 257, 269
Pale, 66
Palestine, 308
Palmerston, Lord, 279 f., 288
Panama, Isthmus of, 187
Papacy, 47 f., 58, 91 (*see also* Pope)
Paradise Lost, Milton's, 153
Pardoners, 57
Paris, Treaty of (1763), 236—(1783) 242
Paris, in French Revolution, 251 ff.
Parliament, early developments, 42, 51 f., 54 ff.—in Fifteenth Century, 60 ff., 65 f., 72—under Tudors, 76, 78, 86, 91, 98, 109 f., 121—under early Stuarts,

120 ff., 124, 127 f.—Short, 130—Long, 130 ff., 134 ff., 146—Rump, 136 ff., 141 ff., 145 f.—Nominated, Little, or Barebones, 144—Protectorate, 144 f.—Convention (1660), 146 f., 149, 155 f.—Cavalier, 156, 158, 162, 165 f.—under late Stuarts, 166 f., 169 f.—Oxford, 167—Convention (1689), 172—under last Stuarts, 176 ff., 187, 189—under first two Georges, 200, 206, 208, 210, 213—under George III, 225 f., 229, 231 f., 234 ff., 238, 262—in early Nineteenth Century, 273 f.
Parliament Bill, 299
Parliament, Irish, 237
Parliament, Model, 48
Parliamentarians (*see* Roundheads)
Parliamentary elections, 200 f.
Parliamentary Reform, 235, 250, 267 ff., 273 f., 287 f., 298 f.
Parma, Duke of, 103
Parnell, C. S., 304
Parr, Catharine, 84
Parthenon, 271
Parties, political, 188 ff., 200 f., 229
Partition Treaties, First, 182—Second, 183
Party government, 278 f.
Passive obedience, 157
Past and Present, Carlyle's, 37
Paterson, William, 192 f.
Patriots (*see* Tories, Constitutional)
Patronage, literary, 151
Paul's Walk, 158
Pearl, 58
Peasant Revolt, 61
Peel, Robert, 271, 273, 287
Peele, George, 117
Peep of Day Boys, 261
Pelham, Henry, 208
Pelham, Thomas (*see* Newcastle)
Peninsular Campaign, 264 f.
Penn, William, 170
Pepys, Samuel, 149, 152, 155, 159
Percy, Henry (Hotspur), 62, 67
Percy, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 62, 67
Percy, 107
Perkin Warbeck, Ford's, 77
Persia, 308
Peterborough (*see Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*)
Peterloo, 269
Petition of Right, 128
Petitioners, 166
Petrarch, 59
Philip II, king of France, 39 ff.
Philip IV, king of France, 46 ff., 52
Philip VI, king of France, 52
Philip Augustus (*see* Philip II of France)
Philip the Fair (*see* Philip IV of France)
Philip II, king of Spain, 91 f., 94, 97, 101 ff., 107, 302
Philip, grandson of Louis XIV, 183 ff.
Phillippa, queen of Edward III, 54
Philistines, 291, 293
Picts, 7, 9 f., 18
Piedmont, 138
Piers the Plowman, Langland's, 59
Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan's, 153
Pilgrimage of Grace, 87
Pitt, William, the Elder, 204, 209 f., 212, 214, 225, 227 ff., 232, 239
Pitt, William, the Younger, 228 f., 233 f., 246 f., 249, 253 ff., 257 f., 260 ff.
Pittsburgh, 211
Plague, 55, 89, 158
Plantagenet dynasty, 60, 65 (*see also* Angevin)
Plassey, battle of, 211
Poitiers, battle of, 46, 54 f., 63
Polish Succession, War of, 213
Political Justice, Godwin's, 257
Political Register, Cobbett's, 269
Polk, President, 284
Poor laws, 89, 114, 276, 292
Pope, relations with—William I, 31—John, 40 f.—Netherlands, 53—Henry VII, 76—Henry VIII, 83 ff.—Elizabeth, 99—Napoleon I, 262
Pope (*see* Papacy)

Pope, Alexander (poet), 179, 183, 191 f., 196
Popish Plot, 165
Population, 245, 276
Porteous Riots, 213 f.
Porter, Jane, 47
Portugal, 264 f.
Potato blight, 287
Prelude, Wordsworth's, 254
Premier (*see* Prime Minister)
Pre-Raphaelites, 291
Presbyterians—under Elizabeth, 99—under early Stuarts, 120, 123 f., 127, 129, 131, 134 f.—in Commonwealth, 137 f., 141—in Convention Parliament, 149—under Charles II, 157, 169—under last Stuarts, 187—under George I, 213
Preston, battle of, 213
Prestonpans, battle of, 214
Pride, Colonel, 136
Pride's Purge, 136 f., 141, 146
Prime Minister, development of office, 206
Prince and the Pauper, Twain's, 90
Prince Consort (*see* Albert)
Princes in the Tower, 70 f., 77
Princess, Tennyson's, 286
Principall Navigations, Hakluyt's, 112
Principles of Geology, Lyell's, 276
Printing introduced by Caxton, 73
Prior, Matthew, 182
Prioress's Tale, Chaucer's, 48
Prisons, 220, 235
Privy Council, 110
Protection, economic, 194 f.
Protector (*see* Cromwell)
Protectorate, 143 ff., 307 [289
Protestant Episcopal Church, 100, 208, 253, 258, 266 f.
Public schools, 293
Purcell, Henry, 151
Puritans—before Civil Wars, 99, 114, 124, 126, 131 f.—under Cromwell, 138 f., 144, 147—after Restoration, 150, 152 f., 195 f., 237
Pym, John, 130 ff., 134
Quadruple Alliance, 267
Quakers, 157, 220
Quarterly Review, 276
Quebec, 212, 238
Queen Mary, Tennyson's, 91
Quo Warranto, 168

Rainfall, 3
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 104, 108, 111, 120, 122
Ramillies, battle of, 184
Rape of the Lock, Pope's, 192
Reade, Charles, 80
Recoinage Act, 194
"Redcoats," 135
Reflections on the Revolution in France, Burke's, 254
Reform Bill—of 1832, 274, 278, 299—of 1867, 280, 287 f.—of 1884-1885, 298—of 1918, 299
Reformation, 108, 223—origins and causes of, 48, 58, 81, 85 f.
Regicides, 137, 155
Regulating Act, 236
Rehearsal, Buckingham's, 151
Reign of Terror, 255, 257
Relief Acts, 235
Religio Laici, Dryden's, 170
Renaissance, 76, 79 f., 86, 101, 116, 139
Restoration, principles of, 150, 167, 172 f., 176, 196
Retaliation, Goldsmith's, 233
Revenge, capture of, 104, 108
Revenge, Tennyson's, 105
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 233
Rhodes, Cecil, 306
Rhodesia, 306
Richard, Duke of York, 68 f.
Richard, son of Edward IV, 77
Richard I, 38 ff.
Richard II, 56, 59 ff., 65 ff.
Richard II, Shakespeare's, 61, 64, 109, 116
Richard II, Duke of Normandy, 20
Richard III, 70 f., 76
Richard III, Shakespeare's, 64
Richelieu, Cardinal, 160
Richmond, 154
Richmond (*see* Henry VII)

Ridley, Bishop, 91 f.
Rights of Man, Paine's, 240
Riot Act, 216
Rizzio, 106
Roads, 244, 274
Robert of Normandy, 31
Roberts, Lord, 306
Robespierre, 255
Robin Hood, 39
Rockingham, Whig minister, 227 f.
Roman Catholicism, before Norman Conquest, 16—under Elizabeth, 98 f., 107—under early Stuarts, 120, 126 f.—under Commonwealth, 139, 141 f.—after Restoration, 154, 159, 161 f., 164 ff., 168 ff., 173—in Eighteenth Century, 177 ff., 186, 188 f., 223, 235, 251—in Nineteenth Century, 270, 272, 288 f.
Roman Catholicism, in Ireland, 261 f., 272 f. (*see also* Roman Catholicism—and Emancipation)
Roman roads, 12, 14
Romans in Britain, 8 f., 11 f., 25 f.
Romney, English painter, 233
"Root and branch," 132
Rosamond, Fair, 37
Roses, Wars of, 68 ff.
Rossetti, D. G., 291
Roundheads, 132 ff., 149
Round Table, 34, 56
Rousseau, 251
Royal Academy, 233
Royal Society, 152 [156
Royalists, 131, 133 ff., 141 f., 149,
Rufus (*see* William II)
Rugby, 293
Ruin, 10
Runnymede, 41
Rupert, Prince, 134
Rural life, 6
Ruskin, John, 291
Russell, Admiral, 182
Russell, George, 305
Russell, Lord John, 272 f., 287
Russia, 111, 213, 260, 262 f., 266 f., 285, 301 f., 307
Rye House plot, 167
Ryswick, Peace of, 182
Sacheverell, Dr. Henry, 191
St. Albans, battle of, 69—Dukes of, 154
St. Augustine, 16
St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, 99
St. Columba, 16
St. Dominic, 43
St. Edward (*see* Edward the Confessor)
St. Francis of Assisi, 43
St. George's Fields, 231
St. Helena, 267
St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, 191 f., 200, 202 ff.
St. Lawrence River, French on, 211 f.
St. Patrick, 16, 18
St. Peter's Fields, 269
St. Thomas (*see* Becket)
Salisbury, oath of, 27
Sanitation, 89
Santo Domingo, 260
Saratoga, battle of, 241
Saxons, 12 f., 15 ff.—invasion of Britain, 5, 9, 13, 18 f.—after Norman conquest, 26, 28 ff., 32, 35
Scholemaster, Ascham's, 89
Science, under Charles II, 151 f.—under Victoria, 293
Scone, stone of, 46
Scop, Saxon minstrel, 14
Scotland, early history, 7, 9, 18—Reformation in, 92—relations with England before Union of 1707, 46 ff., 51 f., 61 f., 82, 88, 98, 105 ff., 129 ff., 135 f., 142, 155, 186—after Union, 187, 197, 199, 213 ff.
Scott, Sir Walter, 30, 39, 186, 213 ff., 276
Scottish Chiefs, Porter's, 47
Sebastopol, 285
Sedley, Mr., 266
Self-Denying Ordinance, 134 f.
Self-governing dominions, 305
Senlac (*see* Hastings)
Separatists, 99 (*see also* Independents)
September massacres, 253, 257

Septennial Act, 200, 216
Seven Years' War, 208 f., 211, 213, 227, 230, 236
Seymour, Jane, 84, 90
Shaw, Bernard, 300
Shadwell, Whig poet, 167
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 162 f., 165, 167 f.
Shakespeare, William, 8, 40, 53, 61, 64, 67, 71, 109, 115 f., 122, 150, 225, 233, 309
Shelburne, Prime Minister, 228 f.
Shelley, P. B., 5, 270, 272
Shelley, Mary, 300
Sheridan, R. B., 261
Sheriffmuir, battle of, 213
Ship money, 128 f.
Short View of the . . . Stage, Collier's, 195
Shortest Way with the Dissenters, Defoe's, 179
Shrewsbury, battle of, 62, 67
Shrewsbury, Lady, 152
Shrewsbury, Lord Treasurer, 192
Siam, 308
Sidney, Sir Philip, 103
Silesia, 208 f.
Simnel, Lambert, 76 f.
Sinking Fund, 247
Sinn Fein, 305
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 58
Six Articles, 87
Slave Trade, Society for Abolition of, 246
Slavery, 111, 234 f., 246, 275 f., 282, 284
Smallpox, 220
Smith, Adam, 228, 241, 244
Smollett, Tobias, 214, 219
Smuggling, 247
Socialism, 300
Solway Moss, battle of, 88
Somerset, supporter of Henry VI, 69
Somerset, Lord Protector of Edward VI, 90
Song of Roland, 22
Song to the Men of England, Shelley's, 270
Sophia, Electress of Hanover, 180, 185, 192
South Africa, 282, 305 f.
South Sea Company, 204 f.
Southampton, Earl of, 109
Southey, Robert, 61, 257, 270
Spain, relations with—Elizabeth, 98, 101 ff., 111—James I, 121 ff., 125—Cromwell, 141, 143, 145—William III, 182 ff.—first two Georges, 205, 207—George III, 227, 241, 264 ff.
Spanish America, 257, 271 f.
Spanish Succession, War of, 183 ff., 212 f.
Spectator, 196
Spencer, Herbert, 292
Spenser, Edmund, 108
Spinning, 242 f.
Squires, 175, 189, 203, 218, 245
Stamford Bridge, battle of, 22
Stamp Tax, 238 f.
Stanhope, Whig leader, 204
Star Chamber, Court of, 78, 122, 124
Statute of Artificers, 114
Statute of Laborers, 55
Steam power, 243
Steam railroads, 275, 291
Steamboat, 275
Steele, Richard, 196
Stephen, 35 f.
Sterne, Laurence, 221
Steuben, Baron, 241
Stevenson, R. L., 215
Stonehenge, 7
Strafford (*see* Wentworth)
Stuarts, 77, 142, 145 ff., 150, 179, 183, 191, 193, 201, 203, 214 f., 224
Stuart, Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, 214 f.
Stuart, Henry, Cardinal of York, 215
Stuart, James, the Old Pretender, 171 f., 180, 183, 185, 192, 213 f.
Stubbs, John, 97
Subjection of Women, Mill's, 286
Suckling, John, 139
Sudan, 308

Suez Canal, 282, 307
Sun King (*see* Louis XIV)
Suraja Dowlah, 211
Surrey, Earl of, 89, 92
Sussex, Saxons in, 19
Suttee, 283
Sweden, 161, 213
Sweyn, king of Danes, 21
Swift, Jonathan, 178, 185, 188, 191, 193, 196, 201
Swinburne, A. C., 107, 291
Switzerland, 259

Talisman, Scott's, 39
Taillefer, Norman minstrel, 22
Tale of a Tub, Swift's, 178
Tale of Two Cities, Dickens's, 252
Task, Cowper's, 234
Tatler, 196
Taxation—before Tudors, 30, 39, 48 f., 54, 62—under Tudors, 109 f., 112, 121—of Colonies, 238
Taylor, Jeremy, 139
Tea, 239
Temperature, 4
Tempest, Shakespeare's, 122
Temple, Sir William, 161
Tennis Court, Oath of, 252
Tennyson, Alfred, 20, 22, 37, 91, 104, 278, 283, 285 f.
Tenure of land, 26
Test Act, 162, 166, 169, 216, 262, 272
Teutonic races (*see* Saxons)
Tewkesbury, battle of, 70
Thackeray, W. M., 184, 196, 266 f., 290
Theatres—Elizabethan, 115 f.—closing of, 132, 138—reopening of, 150
Thirty Years' War, 124 f.
Thirty-nine Articles, 289
Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, 65
Three Per Cents, 246 f.
Thugs, 283
Thyle, Saxon orator, 14
Tinchebrai, battle of, 32
Toleration Act, 178
Tolstoi, 267
Tom Jones, Fielding's, 156, 203, 219
Tone, Wolfe, 261
Townshend, Whig leader, 204, 207
Townshend Acts, 239
Tories—origins of, 158, 163—under late Stuarts, 166, 171 f., 179, 181, 183 f., 189 ff.—under first two Georges, 200, 202 ff.—Constitutional or Hanoverian, 204—under George III, 224 f., 227, 229, 233, 249, 253, 257 f., 263—in early Nineteenth Century, 269, 271 ff., 278 (*see also* Conservatives)
Tottel's Miscellany, 92
Toussaint l'Ouverture, 260
Tracts for the Times, 288
Trade Unions, 290, 299
Trafalgar, battle of, 263
Transvaal, 306
Travel in Seventeenth Century, 164
Treatise of the Human Understanding, Hume's, 221
Trent affair, 284
Trimming, 190
Triple Alliance (Seventeenth Century) 161—(Nineteenth Century) 301
Tristram Shandy, Sterne's, 221
Trollope, Anthony, 292
Tromp, Admiral Van, 143
Truce of God, 30 f.
Truce of the Bear, Kipling's, 301
Trueborn Englishman, Defoe's, 181
Tudor, Elizabeth (*see* Elizabeth)
Tudor, Henry (*see* Henry VII)
Tudor, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, 77
Tudor, House of, 60, 64 f., 71, 75 f., 97, 119, 201
Turkey, 271 f., 285, 307
Twain, Mark, 90
Tyler, Wat, 61
Tyndale, William, 88

Ulster, 108, 123, 261, 304 f.
Union of 1707, 187, 199, 213 f., 262
Union of 1801, 262, 295, 303

Union Jack, 187
Unionists, 304 (*see also* Conservatives)
United Irishmen, Society of, 261
United Kingdom, 249
United States, 212, 242, 263 f., 272, 275, 284 f., 302
Universities, 200, 218, 293 (*see also* Oxford—and Cambridge)
Utopia, More's, 81
Utrecht, Peace (Treaty) of, 180 f., 185 f., 199, 212

Vanbrugh, John, 195
Vanity Fair, Thackeray's, 266 f.
Vaughan, Henry, 139
Venice, 259
Vergil, Dryden's, 151
Versailles, Treaty of, 242
Victoria, 249, 274, 276 ff.
Vienna, Congress of, 266 f., 269, 271
Village, Crabbe's, 246
Villiers (*see* Buckingham)
Vinegar Hill, battle of, 261
Virginia, 111
Vision of Judgment, Byron's, 231, 270
Vision of Judgment, Southey's, 270
Voltaire, 251
Vortigern, 10

Wace, 41
Wales, 10, 32, 45 f., 61 f., 67, 88
Wales, Prince of, origin of title, 46
Wallace, William, 47
Waller, Edmund, 139
Walpole, Horace, 206, 219
Walpole, Robert, 202, 204 ff., 208, 214, 229, 232
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 110
Walton, Izaak, 139
War of 1812, 264 f., 284
War and Peace, Tolstoi's, 267
War Hawks, 265
Warbeck, Perkin, 76 f.
Warwick, the King-maker, 69 ff.
Washington, George, 240 ff.
Wat Tyler, Southey's, 61
Waterloo, battle of, 267
Watt, James, 243, 275
Waverley, Scott's, 214
Wealth of Nations, Smith's, 228, 241
Weaving, 242 f.
Wedgwood potteries, 217, 244
Wellington, Duke of, 265, 267, 272 f., 287
Wells, H. G., 300
Wentworth, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, 130 f.
Wesley, Charles and John, 222, 246
Wessex, Saxons in, 19
West Midlands, 243 ff.
West Saxons, 20
Western, Squire, 156, 203
Whigs, origins of, 158, 163—under late Stuarts, 166 ff., 171 f., 181, 184, 189 ff.—under first two Georges, 200 ff.—under George III, 225, 227, 229, 232 f., 240, 253, 258—oligarchy, 203, 209 f., 216, 225, 227, 229, 274—Boys, 204, 209, 225—in Nineteenth Century, 270, 273, 278, 280 f., 287
Whitby, Synod of, 16, 19
White Ship, 35
Whiteboys, 236 f.
Whitefield, Methodist preacher, 222
Whitefriars, 158
Whitehall, 150, 158
Widow at Windsor (*see* Victoria)
Wilberforce, 275 f.
Wilkes, John, 230 ff., 235
William I, 22 f., 26, 28 ff.
William II, 31
William III (of Orange), 164, 169 ff., 186 ff., 190, 193, 196, 206
William IV, 249, 273 f., 277, 299
William II, Kaiser, 301 f.
William Rufus (*see* William II)
William the Silent, of Orange, 103
William, son of Henry I, 35
Winchester, 20
Wolfe, English general, 212
Wolfe, Charles, 265
Wolsey, Thomas, 82 ff., 86
Woman's rights, 286, 299

Women, position among Saxons, 13 ff.
Wool, 53 ff., 78
Worcester, battle of, 142
Wordsworth, William, 152, 254, 257, 259 f.
World War, 285, 289, 299, 301 ff., 307 f.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 159
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 89, 92
Wycherley, William, 150
Wyclif, John, 48, 58, 61, 85
Yeats, W. B., 305
York, House of, 60, 66, 68 f., 72, 76
York (*see* Richard, Duke of York)
Yorktown, 241 f.
Young, Arthur, 275
Young Pretender (*see* Stuart, Charles Edward)

Zimri (*see* Buckingham)
Zulus, 282
Zwingli, 81

5785-12
58T

RET'D NOV 16 1985

R 17 1997
CT 23 2000

DA32.B973
The historical background of English lit
3 0629 0117333 5

DA
32
B973